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PLATE I.—MEN OF SHALA

(*Photo by Marubbi*)

[Frontispiece)

SOME TRIBAL ORIGINS LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE BALKANS

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ILLUSTRATED BY THE AUTHOR

[Title page]

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PREFACE

By way of Preface my main task is to give thanks to all who have helped me.

To the President and Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute I am especially indebted for permission to include in this book much material already published in the *Journal* of the Institute and its monthly periodical *Man*, and to reproduce also many illustrations. Nor is this all my debt, for had it not been for the kind interest and encouragement of many individual Fellows of the Institute I should hardly have accomplished my task.

To Baron Franz Nopcsa, whose knowledge of North Albania is unrivalled, and who was working there when I was, I am indebted for much kind help.

My debt to the many Balkan friends who admitted me to their daily life, and allowed me to see their way of living, is very great. This debt I have paid, I hope, in some degree by several years of hospital and refugee work among them.

These friends are too numerous to name, as they range from very humble peasants to officials and high ecclesiastics. But among them I would specially record my old Albanian guide, Marko Shantoya, without whose skill, kindness, and care I should never have accomplished the toilsome journeys in the mountains. The good old man died during the Great War. Peace be to his soul!

Thus many people have aided me, and to them is due all that may be of value in this book. For its errors I am alone responsible. That it is incomplete no one is more aware than myself. I can only plead that my plans, like so many others, were completely put an end to by the Great War.

M. EDITH DURHAM.

April 1928.

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SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

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SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

1. The Tribal System in North Albania

The tribal system seems to be a social stage through which mankind 174 normally passes. Within historic times Europe was a welter of tribes, from which in the course of years have been evolved the present "Powers"—Powers which themselves are compounded each of several racial elements and whose frontiers are in a constant state of flux.

In Europe it is only in the Balkan peninsula that the tribal system survived intact into the twentieth century. The Great War has broken up the last tribe lands of Europe—Montenegro and North Albania; and as I lived for some time in each previous to the catastrophe, it seems worth while to record all the details I managed to collect about these interesting relics of a distant past.

The Balkans were tribal in Herodotus's day. Strabo (*ob.* A.D. 25) 175 gives a clear account of the Illyrian and Epirotic tribes who is his time 105 dwelt on the east coast of the Adriatic and had recently been subdued 101 by Rome. "The Istri," says he, "are the first people on the Illyrian coast contiguous to Italy and the Carni. The present government has advanced the limits of Italy to Pola, a city of Istria." Now again, 1,900 years later, Italy has "advanced her limits"—and included Pola, and hankers after other districts which Strabo describes as under Roman rule. "Next come the Japodes, who are a warlike people, but were completely subdued by Augustus . . . the country is poor and the people live mainly on spelt and millet. Their armour is of the Celtic fashion. Their bodies are punctured like those of the other Illyrian and Thracian people." Next come the Liburnians with a city Scardona and a navigable river (the Kerka), and then the "coast of the Dalmatæ and their naval arsenal Salona. They were long at war with the Romans and had fifty considerable settlements, some of which had the rank of cities. Augustus burnt them down . . . then follows the river Narenta, and the peoples of the neighbourhood are the Duorizi, Ardæi, and Pleraii. . . . The Romans drove the Ardæi into the interior because the coast was infested by their piracies, and forced them to cultivate the land. But, as the country was barren, the nation was entirely ruined and nearly extinguished. The same happened to neighbouring nations. People once very powerful are now extinct or

175 reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani
105 among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

101 "Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived. Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Peligones*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

174 This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of
the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language
common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still
622 found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe
623 still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltaia
mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form,
it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence
in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 174
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many
descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition
to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were
living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived.
"Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan
peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb.
(3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriage-
able. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of [628]
great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated
by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 582
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 602
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence 611
it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have
not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on
the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each
other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested
this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian
Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his
strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however
remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you
to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

Historical Albania EG2

A 779 582 Finally he said he supposed he could not; but that such a case had never occurred, and he hoped he should never have to do anything so horrible. So long as he lived in the mountains he was safe.

I dared not ask how many cousins in the female line he had married in all good faith.

A 614 The tribe is sometimes a group of several stocks, in which case marriage within the tribe is possible between them. These groups are called "bairaks" (standards: Turk.). Some tribes consist of but one bairak. The head is the "bairaktar" (standard-bearer). This post is hereditary from father to eldest son. Of old the bairaktar is said to have been important. In my time he had lost ground and was often quite cut out in council by abler men.

A 596 Each bairak contains many groups, called "vlaznii" (brethren), consisting of a family group including second cousins or even further. The Turkish word "mehala" is also used for these groups.

H 114 779 A vivid picture of North Albania before the coming of the Turk is given by Father Brocardus, a Dominican who wrote an account of the routes suitable for the Crusaders in 1332, and presented it to his sovereign, Lord Philippe de Valois. He shows Albania under Serb rule. Especially he recommends the route from Brindisi to Durazzo, and thence across "Abbanie where the people are devout and obedient to the Church of Rome," and thence by way of the Blaques (Vlahs of the Pindus) to Thessalonica.

Of the Kingdom of Rassie (Serbia) he says that it is a land where Catholics are treated with insult and violence. He proposes to the King of France: "Some movements to assail it, and certain easy conditions for taking it. . . . Among other things there is one which does much to make the capture of the said Kingdom of Rassie more easy. H [794] Be it known there are two nations, the one the Abbanois, and the other the Latins, who are both of the faith and owe obedience to the Church of Rome, according to which they have Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and religious and secular priests of lower estate and degree. The Latins have six cities and as many bishops. These are Antivari—the Archiepiscopate—Cattaro, Dulcigno, Suacinense, Scutari, and Drivasto. In these cities only Latins live, and some are without the walls. In all their dioceses are Abbanois, who have also four cities: that is to say Polat Major, Polat Minor, Sabbate, and Albanie, which H 197 212 245 together with the Latins are all subject to the Archbishop o[illegible]ntivari" (these "cities" are, in fact, districts), "and his Church. And though these *Abbanois have a language quite other from that of the Latins, they use the Latin letters in all their books*. Thus the power of the Latins is enclosed within the circuit of the cities which are theirs, though they H 702 have some vineyards and fields without the cities. . . . The Abbanois

nation, which is the greatest, could put into the field more than 15,000 H 762
men on horseback, well fitted to wage war in the manner of their
country, valiant and good fighters. And the said nations, both Latins H
and Abbanois, are harshly oppressed under the intolerable and very 636
hard servitude of the most hateful and abominable lordship of the 798
Slavs. Indeed, they are a downtrodden people; their clergy is lowered
and humbled; their bishops and abbots often imprisoned; their nobles
disinherited and imprisoned; their churches, both cathedrals and
collegiate, are dispersed and deprived of power; their monasteries and
priories lost and destroyed. They, one and all, would think to consecrate their hands in the blood of the said Slavs if they saw coming
a Prince of France who would be their leader and chief against the
said Slavs, the enemies of truth and of our faith. One thousand French
horse and five or six infantry, along with the said Abbanois and Latins,
could conquer at their ease the whole of this Kingdom of Rassie,
such as it is."

This passage, written almost at the height of Serb power, shows H
clearly that the Serb conqueror had failed to destroy the Albanian [186]
sense of nationality, and failed to force the Serbian Orthodox Church
upon the people; and that there was a very large Albanophone popula- A
tion with a Catholic clergy of its own. The bishoprics of Antivari, 194
Scutari, Sappa, and Pulati still exist, and have survived both Serb and 779
Turk. Into this reserve of Albanian nationality the refugees from the
surrounding districts fled when the Turks advanced. The mountain A
population, then as now, was no doubt scattered in isolated houses or 361
family groups of several houses on the mountain pastures, and not
gathered into towns or villages. They formed "katuns." That the popu- H
lation was numerous is shown by the many ecclesiastical and political A
documents, correspondence with the Vatican, Venice, and Ragusa, 161
and old Serbian archives. Thus in 1348 Tsar Stefan Dushan gives to H
the monastery he is founding at Prizren nine Albanian "katuns" near A
Prizren, the said Albanians to give serf labour to the monastery. He 792
gives also some land in Upper Pulati, together with its inhabitants. 566
Several still existing place-names are mentioned: Shikje, Krue e Madhe 103
(the great spring of water), and Sakati. "The existing Catholic clergy
at Shikje who have vineyards" are to pay a tribute of wine to the H
monastery (an Orthodox one), and so are certain other districts. The 651
people of Lower Pulati are to pay tribute of 100,000 silk cocoons. 792
Several mills are handed to the monastery and in one case the miller, 233
Zan, and his brethren are mentioned. No one may erect a mill on Church H
land, under penalty of a fine and loss of the mill. (The Church alone 256
has the right to grind corn. This would give it immense power.) Large H
districts of Lower Pulati are given to the Serb Church, including the 794

H 794 present Kopliku; Albanian districts on the Drin are also given or ordered to pay tribute. All of which confirms Father Brocardus's statements.

H 792 651 Stefan Urosh III, when founding the monastery at Dechani, gives it in 1330 many "villages and katuns of Vlahs and Albanians between the Lim and White Drin," and gives a list of persons who are to pay tribute, the last of which are Zaharia and Mihal of Nikita in Pulati, who are to pay the former 4,000 and the latter 2,000 cocoons annually to the Church. All Vlahs and Albanians are to carry salt for the monastery. Thus numbers of peasants were put into the power of the Orthodox Church, but though severe laws were enacted against Catholicism, North Albania in large part remains Catholic.

H 175 779 So soon as the Serb Empire fell, references to Albanian chiefs become frequent, and the Catholic Church speedily took the ascendancy. Many of these chiefs took service with their men under Venice. Others were subsidized by Venice as allies. All documents show that at the time of the Turkish invasion there was a large Albanian population both in the mountains and on the plains, which then, as now, were largely used as winter pasture.

The swoop of the conquering Turk, the capture of Scutari and
Alessio, the complete destruction of Drivasto, caused a great disloca-
tion of population. As the Turk settled on the fat plains, numbers of
refugees took to the mountains. The tradition now told in the moun-
tains of the north is often that of these immigrant refugees, who tell
of having found other inhabitants in the land, but the families who
H now trace direct male descent from these are few. The strict law
582 of exogamy must, however, have forced the immigrant to intermarry
largely with the old inhabitant, and the race continuity is, therefore,
unbroken.

2. THE MALTSIA E MADHE GROUP

A The tribes fall into several main groups.

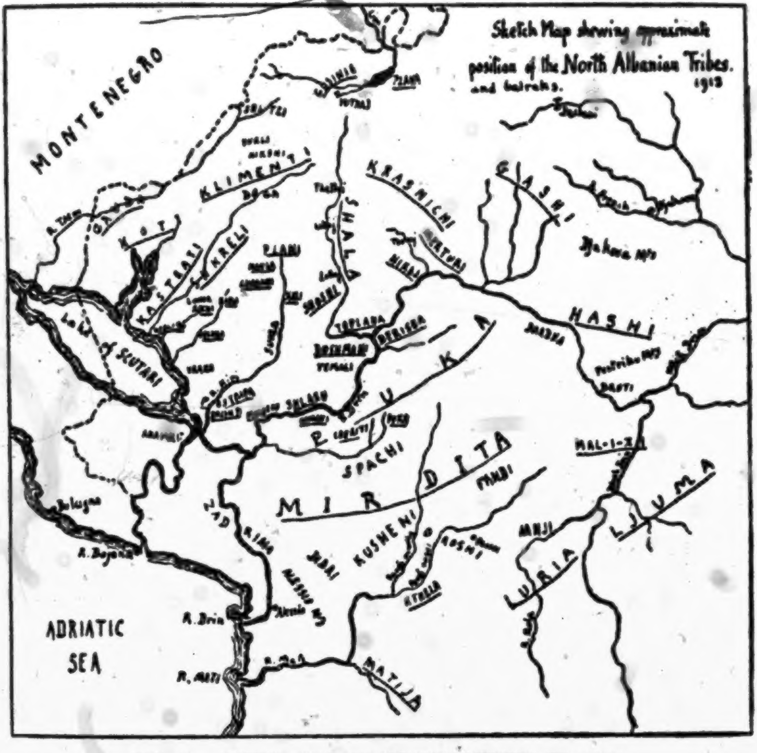
619 614 The Maltsia e Madhe (the Great Mountains) group consisted, when I visited it, of five large tribes and some smaller ones.

1. *Gruda.*—A tribe of one bairak, situated between the river Tsem
and the old Montenegrin frontier. To the north of it is Triepshi and
south is Hoti. Triepshi was part of this group till given to Montenegro
A in 1878. Gruda in 1908 consisted of about five hundred "houses."
[592] A "house" was roughly reckoned at from eight to ten souls.

Of these five hundred "houses," eighty traced descent from Berisha
A (see below), and thus are of old indigenous stock. The remainder,
[167] called Djell, said they were immigrants from the Herzegovina, and that

the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon 619
after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the 614
sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina. [167]

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half 582
the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly 779
destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war 727


Sketch Map showing approximate position of the North Albanian Tribes. and bairaks. 1913
MONTENEGRO
KLIMENTI
GRUDA
HOTI
KASTRATI
SKRELI
PLANI
KRASNICHI
SHALA
MERTURI
NIKAJ
GASHI
Djakova
HASHI
TOPLANA
BERISHA
DUSHMANI
TEMALI
PUKA
SPACHI
MIRDITA
KUSHENI
OROSHI
MALIZI
LURIA
LJUMA
MATIJA
Lake of SCUTARI
R. Bojana
R. Drin
R. Mati
ADRIATIC SEA

[102
619
133]

FIG. I.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many
refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly 798
handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and 727
Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended
yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were
given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them
of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their
heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning
a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been
thus ruined.

[779 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before,
after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming
614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz,
came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the
building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people,
"Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas"
twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167] the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he
could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen
which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem
overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni
Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and
Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi.
Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic
and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted
the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje
districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi,
told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti
to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro
dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group
("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears
for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[669] died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an
exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his
breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the
only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

me not to give him more than his share. One of the Franciscans gave 727
him shelter, for he was generally beloved, but he did not survive the winter. I mourned him at the time, but was later glad that he had died before his beloved tribe was handed to the enemy. The name "Hoti" 619
is older than the arrival of Geg Laz. Jirecek, quoting the Venetian 175
archives, states that the Hoti ("montanea Ottanorum") allied itself in 1474 with Ivan Tzrnojevitch and fought the Turks. The "Anas" must then have been numerous.

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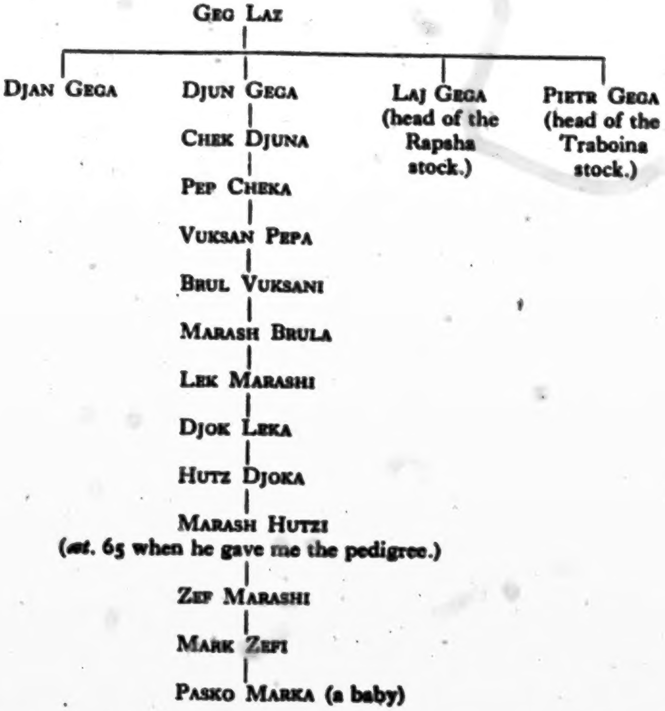
GEG LAZ
DJAN GEGA
DJUN GEGA
LAJ GEGA (head of the Rapsha stock.)
PIETR GEGA (head of the Traboina stock.)
CHEK DJUNA
PEP CHEKA
VUKSAN PEPA
BRUL VUKSANI
MARASH BRULA
LEK MARASHI
DJOK LEKA
HUTZ DJOKA
MARASH HUTZI
(æt. 65 when he gave me the pedigree.)
ZEF MARASHI
MARK ZEFI
PASKO MARKA (a baby)

The tribe of Nikaj (see below) is also related to Hoti. Marash Hutzi 619
said that Nikaj descends from a son of Krasnich. Baron Nopcsa learnt 582
from another quarter that Nik was another brother of Geg Laz. That they are related is clear, for they are not intermarriageable.

Hoti usually marries the neighbour tribe Kastrati. As Kastrati mainly marries Hoti, after so many generations the two must be very closely related. But old Marash was extremely proud of the strict exogamy of the tribe. To marry "one's own blood" he looked on with unspeakable horror. I asked how many generations must pass before the descendants

619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways
from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted
Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics.
The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone.
Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the
mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is
[703 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the
174] road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere
in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for
in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs
who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth
was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of
service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin.
They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven
sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch
trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the
[197 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are
779] said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses
trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic;
the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat,
174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred
years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo,
776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they
now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and
614 widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi.
They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti,
[166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations
ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of
Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli.
[582] They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four
bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently
far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against
"marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the
174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that
they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti,
a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and
most intelligent of the tribesmen.

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem 103
valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms 779
the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, 596
and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say 614
is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza).

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five [582]
families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi,
one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between
Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to
feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, [221
which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road 648]
and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it.

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty 619
Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku 614
and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district 779
not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its [174
mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts 794]
which are given to the Church.

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; 619
and has also a few houses of "Anas." 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*,
another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling [779
mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as 294]
some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed 648
descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group.

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, 619
Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places 779
mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the 103
only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name
from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom [776]
the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all
trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, [628
who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in 166]
Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a
perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping- 648
off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 779

648 779 and priests, which have not been interfered with, the Jugoslav Government has tried to plant a Serb bishop in Scutari on their behalf. They should be exchanged for some Albanians in Serb territory. The whole of the Maltsia e Madhe district is included in the diocese of Scutari.

There is a sprinkling of Serb place-names in the district, but most of them are Albanized, showing how, on the retreat of Serb rule, the older race reasserted itself.

3. THE PULATI GROUP

175 794 Polati, Pilot, Pulati occurs as the name of a large mountain district and as a bishopric at an early date.[1] In 877 a bishop of Polati is mentioned by the Council of Delmitano. Then Pope Alexander II, in a letter written to the Archbishop of Antivari in 1062, puts Pulati and its bishop under his care. Towards the end of that century Antivari, owing doubtless to the growing power of the Serbs, ceased to be an archbishopric, though it was still a bishopric, and Pulati is mentioned by Callixtus II in 1121 as under the Archbishop of Ragusa. In 1251 the Archbishopric of Antivari was restored, and Pulati again mentioned as under Antivari. Between 1372 and 1421 is a gap in which Farlati tells us that Helena, widow of Stefan Dushan, and her son, Urosh, "vexed most bitterly the Catholics, and spoiled them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty." No bishop is then mentioned. The Church was kept alive by the Franciscans, who faced danger and hardship in the mountains. Again, under the Turks, extreme misery is mentioned, and bishops are intermittent. It was reported that here were then still some twenty thousand Catholics. But, in spite of missionary effort, the Church almost lapsed. In 1653 Marcus Crisius traversed Pulati and reported: "It is incredible how ignorant the people now are of religion." Up till 1520 there were two bishoprics, Pulatenses Majores, and Pulatenses Minores. To Pulati Minor bishops were appointed from 1345 to 1520; then the two dioceses were united. It appears that it was hard to find men to accept the post, and some of those who did, broke down under the difficulties. Thus Bishop Serafinus, who learnt Albanian and worked very hard, had to retire through illness. Even though the Church of St. Nikola, at Ghoanni, "was rebuilt in 1703 more elegantly and larger and is called a cathedral," it was a humble enough edifice.

In *Illyricum Sacrum* (1817) a contemporary account mentions that Pulati is in the deepest recesses of the roughest mountains; that it

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[1] *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia*, and Farlati.

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[Facing p. 25]

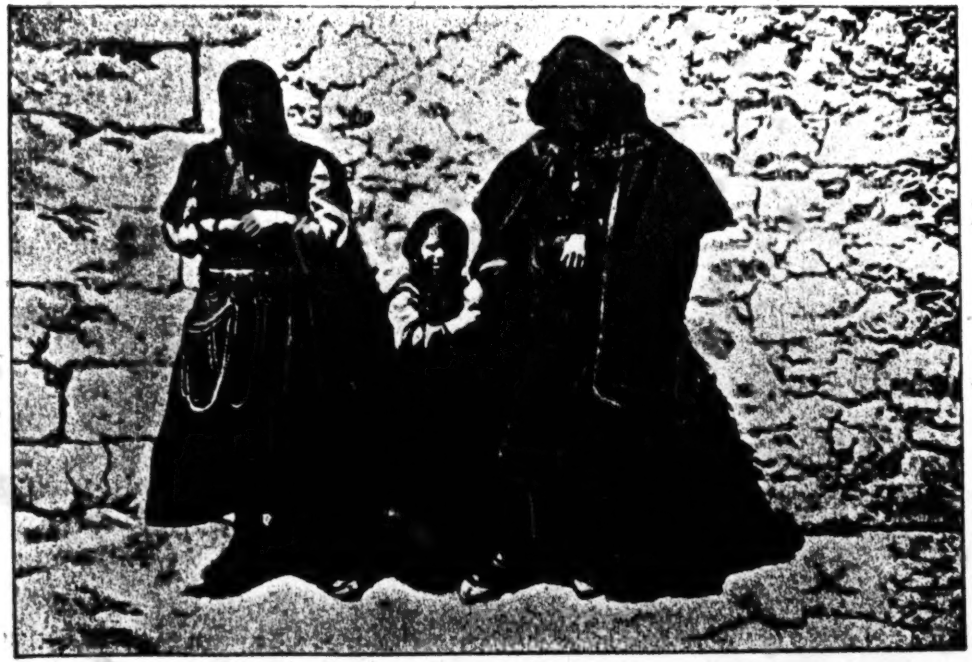

PLATE II.—WOMEN OF SHALA

includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, 175
that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the 794
vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen
sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, 619
and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," 779
not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully
cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the [661]
mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all
Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati 794
extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower
Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani.*—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three 614
stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, 619
Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population). 779

2. *Ghoanni.*—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula.*—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala.*—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which
all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of 173
Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from
eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had
nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and [582]
three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry.
Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

173 dark people inhabiting the land, with whom they intermarried. Eight
houses near Abate, in lower Shala, trace descent from these old inhabi-
142 tants. The rest of them migrated to Dechani. The Albanians I saw at
Dechani in 1903 were certainly all of the small dark type.

614 Shala consists of four bairaks: Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj.
The three latter are said to have separated into three groups 376 years
[613 ago (told me in 1908). Lothaj and Lekaj recently decided they were far
582] enough removed to be intermarriageable. But Shoshi and Mirdita
still would not marry with them.

The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

619 2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from
the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to
Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still
Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the
Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate
[611] child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is
the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that
the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the
mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood
is possible.

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Baron Nopcsa considers the ancestor Nikol to have been brother and not son to Krasan.

THE PUKA GROUP

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619

This is sometimes reckoned a large tribe of seven bairaks. Sometimes as a group of tribes.

It is an important group, as here are the oldest of all the population. Much is probably of indigenous origin with little immigration.

1. *Berisha-Merturi.*—The Berisha people state that they have always been in their present homeland. They formerly, says Nopcsa, occupied more, but were driven from Ibalja by the Thachi. With great patience the Baron traced some very extensive pedigrees with certainty back to 1370, and with probability to 1270, an extraordinarily detailed piece of oral tradition. Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago. Even in the days when the district was included in the Serb Empire we find no Slav names in these pedigrees, and only two, Sokol (falcon) and Uk (wolf), occur later. As above mentioned, both Gruda and Kuchi also trace descent in part from Berisha. I would particularly direct ethnologists to this region before it is penetrated and broken up by roads.

Merturi, I was told, was an ancient Roman name "Merituri," but I have not traced it. That the Romans had a route through the district is shown by the place-names "Valbona" and "Apripa." Berisha-Merturi is all Catholic.

[779]

2. *Cheriti.*—Part Catholic, part Moslem. These people also stated that they were "very old," but I have no particulars.

3. *Komani.*—Catholic. In this tribe land are the ruins and the ancient graveyard known as Kalja Dalmaches, or tower of the Dalmatians, which is generally considered to be the remains of the Illyrian tribe of the Delmates or Dalmates, driven from the coast by the Romans. The present inhabitants seem to have no tradition of descent from these people, and no tradition, in fact, about them at all, so are clearly later immigrants.

The name Komani occurs also for a district in Montenegro, not far from Podgoritza. One is tempted to connect it with the Cumans or Komans, who were used as hired troops by various Balkan rulers, especially the Bulgars, in the Middle Ages. But we have no definite tale of their movements.

4. *Chiri.*—All Catholic.

5. *Dushaj.*—Catholic.

6. *Kabashi.*—Moslem. Nopcsa reports they came about 250 years ago to their present site.

7. *Puka.*—All Moslem.

THE POSTRIPA GROUP

619 Postripa is obviously a name bequeathed by the Romans. It consists
175 of five tribes, all included in the Diocese of Pulati. Much of Postripa is Moslem, for it was quarrelled about by several bishops. In 1702 Pope Clement XI, who was of Albanian blood on his mother's side, sent Vicentius Zmajevitch as Visitator Apostolicus, who reported among other lamentable things that three bishops were all claiming Postripa, and that meanwhile the people are left "without leader or shepherd, like a scattered flock subject to oppression and persecution."

In Postripa are included five tribes:—

619 1. *Mazreku.*—A small Catholic tribe. That the place was in ancient
175 days a centre of civilization is shown by the considerable ruins of an
614 abbey, Shenkol Shati, believed to have belonged to the Benedictines and to be the one mentioned by several ancient writers as not far from Scutari. It is now lost in a tangle of trees and brushwood. There is
[784] a strong feeling throughout Albania against felling trees on the spot where a church once existed—a feeling that probably goes back to the very ancient days of sacred groves. The abbey presumably fell into ruin when the Serbs seized the district in the Middle Ages. The hatred
[798] of the Serb Orthodox for the Catholics was shown in 1913 in the Balkan War, when the Montenegrin troops, whose object was said to be "to liberate Christians," fell upon the little church of Mazreku, trampled the Host under foot, dressed up in the priestly vestments, danced about, and amused themselves by cutting off the noses from images of the saints and firing bullets into the crucifix.

2. *Drishti.*—A small Moslem tribe that was almost annihilated in 1913 by the Montenegrins. Drishti is the site of the ancient city of Drivasto, in ancient days a bishopric, mentioned as early as 877. The town was entirely destroyed by the Turks, who beheaded the leaders before the walls of Scutari—then too besieged—in order to terrify the Scutarines into submission. The wasted spot was afterwards settled by incomers from the neighbourhood of mixed origin. And in the period when three bishops were quarrelling for Postripa the Drishti folk all turned Moslem.

3. *Shlaku.*—A tribe of one bairak on the right bank of the Drin, in a
[779] very poor district. It is all Catholic and traces origin from Toplana (*q.v.*).

4. *Dushmani.*—A Catholic tribe of two bairaks—Temali and Dushmani. Dushmani takes its name from a chieftain family which ruled here. In 1403 "Goranimus, Damianus, and Nenada, brothers Dusmani, Lords of Polati Minor," offer themselves as subjects to Venice and swear fidelity on condition that Venice will guarantee them in possession

of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured 619
of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of 614
their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, 175
was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . .
Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states [173]
that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When 619
I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses 779
with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical
head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from [793]
a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was 643
one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none,
he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence 614
of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, 173
Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the 582
Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

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582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have
no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi
173 came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were
166 first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part
of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some
reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They
further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the
land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and
only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name
"Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth
century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known
only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state
that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared
765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the
Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn
otherwise only by men.

614 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally
582 with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to
614 lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North.
619 Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and
Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more
779 fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners
186 and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been
largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much
is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak
614 of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some
779 Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress.
582 When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

619
614

Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem 779
tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra. 582

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I [186
was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that 609]
I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept
blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of [628]
Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was
notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the
plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has
since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large [669
number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was 648]
expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the
country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who
saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory
to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania
into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between
Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an
independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would
be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of
the tribes.

3. *Dibra.*—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji.*—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river
Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only
foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate [186
was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite 291]
dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma.*—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem 727
tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence 619
described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and
children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed
till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from
the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400
persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

614 Along with Ljuma were grouped Bruti, Mal i zi (the Black Mountain, not to be confounded with Montenegro), Rechi, Vlas, and some other small groups—all offshoots of older tribes, especially of Shala and the Fandi bairak of Mirdita.

DJAKOVA GROUP

614 1. *Gashi.*—All Moslem. About eight hundred houses. I did not
619 visit it.

779 2. *Hashi.*—A very large tribe of, it was said, about a thousand houses, almost all Moslem. They had never seen a woman in European dress, and were greatly amused at my arrival armed only with an umbrella. They occupy the Pestriku mountains, traditionally a former
[186] home of the Mirdites. They were hospitable and allowed me to pass through their land, but were so unused to foreigners and so afraid that their admission might bring about foreign annexation that I asked no questions about origin or anything personal.

[103 3. *Tropopoja.*—Three hundred Moslem houses—I did not visit.
173] The town of Djakova was founded by an offshoot of the Merturi-Berisha, and I was told derives its name from St. Jak (St. Giacomo), and that its founders were Christians. But when I visited it almost the whole of its large population was Moslem. There was a small Catholic church and school. Except for one hundred Serb families the town was solid Albanian. Two stocks claimed descent from the original founders: the Merturi and the Vula. The Vula was a large and powerful family, and I was told I could travel anywhere safely with a Vula as guide. I did so. He carried no weapon.

A large number of villages surround Djakova. These I found to be all Albanian, tracing descent from Berisha, Shala, Fandi, and other bairaks of Mirdita, as do many inhabitants of the town. None intermarry with their tribe of origin. The villages were mixed Catholic and Moslem. There were no Serb villages. The district is now part of Jugoslavia, and the population doubtless much changed by immigration and emigration.

IPEK GROUP

614 1. *Ipek* (now called Petch) and its villages.—A large Albanian
619 population of many stocks flowed down from the mountains when the
173 Serbs evacuated it in 1640 and reoccupied the lands formerly taken from their ancestors.

Some villages traced origin from Berisha and Shala. Dechani was populated by descendants of the ancient Shala stock (*q.v.*). This

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district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the 619
hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by 173
Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania. [166]

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the
last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone,
the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty [648]
of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so
fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for
this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women,
and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to [186
Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had 727]
these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari
swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had
thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then
thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all prob- 619
ability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the 173
Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian.
A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have
seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under
Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly,
and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not
entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate 619
fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they 101
settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether 779

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they penetrated yet farther into the Albanophone and Catholic Albanian mountains. In the latter case they have remained Albanian; in the former they have been Serbized, and have also acquired doubtless some Slav blood. That the Vlah (Roman-Illyrian) forms a considerable part of the present Albanian inhabitants is indicated by Brocardus's reference to "Latini" and Farlati's to "Blachia."

5. THE TRIBES OF MONTENEGRO UP TO 1913

Off

The tribes of Montenegro, as they existed up to the beginning of the Great War, have not been recorded in English. I therefore describe them in some detail, for they are the last example of the development of a wholly tribal nation into a State in Europe. I say the last because the tribal system of Albania had disappeared, save in the Northern mountains, long before Albania became independent. When I first went to Montenegro in 1900 it consisted of about thirty tribes. I say "about," for some were recent compounds and not, strictly speaking, tribes.

Montenegro was divided into two parts—Montenegro and the Brda. The first was old Montenegro with some additions on the Herzegovinian side; the second, the mountain mass that borders on Albania. The real "plemé" (tribe) in each consisted of a group of people believing itself to be descended from a common male ancestor. In some cases there was a tale of some previous inhabitants, and in others of later settlers who had been admitted as part of the tribe. I regret that I did not collect the tale of ancestry of each tribe instead of the details of a few, but these will serve to show how a tribe was formed and developed.

Each tribe till recently was exogamous, except when the tribe descended from two or more separate stocks, which were then intermarriageable. Male blood alone counted.

Each tribe was divided into several "bratstvos" (groups of brothers literally) consisting of many cousins and brothers, each calling the other "brother" or "sister." In my time a bratstvo was not reckoned farther than and including second cousins; but in former days it extended farther. When I first lived in my guide's, Krsto's, hovel at Njegushi, I was amazed at the number of his brothers. The neighbours were equally surprised by my narrow idea of a "brother." When I said I believed I had cousins whom I had never seen and whose names I did not know, all were horrified and said the English were no better than dogs. They could not understand a bratstvo that did not live on its own patch of ground. Scattering over the world they thought

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SECTION II

GOVERNMENT AND LAW

1. Strabo and the Ancient Tribes. The Coming of the Slav

As we have seen, Strabo (*ob. c.* A.D. 20), in his detailed account of the A 175 Balkan tribes of his day, tells us in the fragmentary account of Dodona that "Among the Thesprotæ and the Molotti the persons who hold office are called Peligones, as among the Macedonians." Also that "most of the tribes were governed by native princes."

In most parts of the world the tribe, with a chieftain and a council of headmen, has existed or exists. The North Albanian tribes, when I visited them, were the last tribes in Europe to preserve autonomy.

The governing councils consisted of elders—"plaki," an old man A 623 ("pleknit," plural). The idea of administration of law is so closely con- 175 nected with old age that "to arbitrate" is "me plechnue," and "plechni" means both "seniority" and "arbitration."

The resemblance between Strabo's word "peligones" and the modern Albanian terms is so striking as to suggest that the Albanian "plak, plaku, pelaku" (all variations of the same word) are in fact Strabo's "pelig," that "ones" is merely an added termination, and that both custom and name have survived uninterruptedly. We need not doubt that under Roman rule the tribal system continued just as it does to-day in Africa under the British Empire.

The Serbs, we are told, were also tribal, but of this there is little in- H 167 formation. One of the earliest contemporary accounts of their irruption 721 into the Balkan peninsula is that of John of Ephesus, who says: "This 727 same year, the third after the death of Justin (A.D. 574), was famous for the invasion of the accursed people called Slavonians. . . . And four years have now elapsed and still, because the Emperor is engaged in war with the Persians, they live at their ease in the land, and spread far and wide, and ravage and burn, and take captives. . . . They have ridden even to the walls of the town (Byzantium) and driven away the Emperor's horses—many thousand—and even to this day they still dwell free of care or fear and lead captive, slay, and burn, and have now grown rich in gold and silver and herds of horses, and have learned to fight better than the Romans, though at first they were rude savages and did not dare show themselves outside the forests and coverts of

H the trees and, as for arms, did not know what they were, except for two
167 or three kinds of javelins and darts."

721 Thus he describes them as a savage horde, but gives no information
727 as to tribes or chiefs.

It was fully another century before the Serbs were finally established and settled. Presbyter Diocleas, though hopelessly confused in his details about dates and persons, probably records a true tradition in his *Chronicles* when he describes the invasion of the pagan Slavs thus: "The Christians, seeing themselves placed in great tribulation and persecution, began gathering themselves together on mountain-tops, and strove to construct strongholds and castles and edifices, that they might escape from the hands of the Slavs till God should visit them
H and set them free."

A The mountain dwellings of the Vlahs and the Albanians still bear
342 witness to the flight of the old inhabitant before the invader. To what extent the partly Romanized Illyrian populations became intermixed with the Serb it is impossible to say, but the Serb differs so much from the Northern Slav-speaking peoples (Poles, Czechs, Russians) that a considerable admixture of other blood is suggested. That this differed
A in various regions is shown by the place-names. Slavonic names are
103 thickest in Serbia (pre-war), in Macedonia, and in Bosnia—that is, in
197 the most fertile districts. They are rarest of all in North Albania, and are scanty in South Albania and in Thrace. In Montenegro and the Herzegovina there is a sprinkling of non-Slavonic names. Antique Greek and Roman names appear mainly on the coasts. Inland, "Nish" preserves the Roman (? pre-Roman) name of "Naissus"; and "Uskub" (Turkish) and "Shkupi" (Albanian) preserve the old "Scupi," now completely distorted by the Serbs into "Skoplje."

A How much of what survives of tribe and tribe law is a remnant
173 of the Illyrians and the "peligones," and how much is Slavonic, can hardly now be determined; but it is of interest to note that tribe and tribe law have survived longest in those districts which were least under Serb rule—Albania, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina.

2. TRIBE LAW IN NORTH ALBANIA

THE CANON OF LEK DUKAGIN

A Whenever in the mountains I asked why anything was done, I was
671 told, "Because Lek ordered it." Law, custom, usage, were all attributed
173 to Lek. That he must have been a man of strong personality to have thus set a mark on a people is obvious; but very little is known about

him. His Canon was handed down orally to the elders and in their 671
hands has been somewhat modified in different districts, but was in 173
force through all the North Albanian mountains, both Moslem and Christian. Truly "in force," for "Lek said so" obtained more obedience than the Ten Commandments, and the teaching of the hodjas and the priests was often vain if it ran counter to that of Lek.

Who was Lek Dukagin? The Dukagini were chieftains in North 173
Albania, and the few references to them show they ruled wide lands. 643
In 1309 King Urosh II signed himself "King of Serbia, Chelmie, Dioclie, and Albania," and his successors styled themselves "King of Albania" till Stefan Dushan's death in 1356; but the Serbs, though they exacted tribute and labour from certain districts, do not seem to have penetrated and influenced the mountains. Only thus can we account for the fact that, except near Scutari, the place-names are Albanian, and that so soon as the Serb Empire began crumbling on Dushan's death the names of Albanian chieftains appear. The oldest reference to the Dukagini I can find is a letter, *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia* (No. 133), from Pope Innocent III to the "noble man Demetrius, Prince of Albania," replying to one asking for religious instruction, and a document of 1216, explaining that "Demetrius is son of Progon and brother of Gini, Count of Albania."

Hopf (*Chroniques inédits Greco-Romanes*, Berlin, 1873) gives, as a result of much search, a pedigree of the Dukagini. The earliest is "Tanusius I, Dux Ginus, Lord of Zadrima, the Black Mountain (Mal i zi on the Drin?), Pulati, and Shati." He is probably the "Dux Ginius Tanuschus Albanensis" who is taken prisoner by Johannis Scotus, Charles of Sicily's Captain, at Durazzo in 1281 (*v. Acta et Dip.*, No. 455). "Gini" is Albanian for John. "Dukagini" is Duke John; "dux," in the sense of leader or chief. The title "duca" hails from Venice, just as do "gubernador" and "kapetan" in Montenegro.

From Tanusius Dux Ginus descends Lek (Alexander) I. He was a chieftain who aided the Venetians against the Turks. A dispatch from Alessio, December 1387 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 413), states that the brothers Lek and Paul Dukagin permit free passage through their lands to the Ragusans. In 1393 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 501), the "noble lords, Progon and Tanus, brothers, sons of the late lord Lek Dukagin, lords of the castle of Alessio," in their own names and on behalf of their relatives, hand over Alessio to the Venetians, being unable to hold it against the Turks. This Tanus is described by Hopf as lord of Fandi (now part of Mirdita). As he was lord also of Alessio this shows his lands to have been wide. He had a son, Paul, lord of Gurikuchi, Salita, etc., whose son, Lek II, is probably the Lek of the Canon. Hopf describes him as lord of Dagno and Zadrima between 1444 and 1459. These were the

173 days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice,
243 and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.

[688] Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

671 Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law
681 of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth
174 century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

682 Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud,
the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who
[574] has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any
house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is
regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He
[609] at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

order his house to be burnt. Among the Dukagini the council has 682 power also to destroy his crops, cut down his fruit trees, slaughter his 609 beasts, and condemn the land to lie unworked for a term of years. An incredible amount of food-stuff is thus wasted. In this group not only the man who has taken blood, but all the males of his "house," are liable for blood, so they, too, have to fly. The "house" is the home maybe of a whole family community—forty people. But the law is carried out to the last letter. Such desolated spots have I seen. But "It is the Canon, so must be obeyed," was the answer to any remonstrance I made. The women and children may scatter and find shelter in other houses if they can; they usually do. A man can save his house if he can return to it and defend it three days successfully, so that the men sent by the council cannot set fire to it; I saw "a very brave man" in Berisha who had three times saved his house thus. Or a man can save his house by inviting the head of another mehala to act as house lord and defend it with his own men. This might cause severe fighting. The council, to prevent this, then as a rule agrees to burn the house only and spare the property. The amount of property to be destroyed was always to be decided by the council.

In Maltsia e Madhe a man was allowed to redeem his house by paying from £5 to £10 by a modification of the old law.

In addition to the burning of the house, in all tribes a fine has to be paid. Fines are paid in sheep or cattle. The fines varied in different districts. In both groups a fine had to be paid to the Turkish Government. In the case of Maltsia e Madhe this was paid to the Sergerdé and the Bulukbashes, who represented the tribes in Scutari. It was generally paid punctually. "Lek decreed that a fine must be paid, so it must be." Moreover, the Turkish Government had a certain hold on all the nearer tribes, for it could hold as hostage any member of a tribe which owed blood-gelt and came to market at Scutari. The outlying tribes of Dukagini by no means always either notified or paid for their murders.

Feuds being very weakening to a tribe, the headmen of the tribe or friends of the family would attempt to stop the feud. Blood-feuds of the Dukagini and Pulati tribes are settled in the mountains; those of Maltsia e Madhe were settled in Scutari before the representatives of those tribes who lived there.

The peace-making is preceded by the "gjaksur" (he who owes 682 blood) sending some friends to the "zoti i gjakut" (lord of blood) to ask 609 for "besa" (promise of truce). This may be granted and further pro- 693 longed, and during the truce the gjaksur and his relatives are safe. To end the feud, "me paitue gjak" (pacify the blood), twenty-four con-jurors are needed to swear the peace oath with the gjaksur. The

693 plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be
609 named by the "bairaktar" (head of the tribe). This is only done if the
682 matter cannot be settled by con-jurors chosen by the plaintiff.

The gjaksur has the right to object to two of the con-jurors, who must be replaced by others. The con-jurors are all men of standing in the tribe ("plect," elders; "kren," heads). They examine the facts and hear the accused ("gjaksur") and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood-gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. If they all agree but one, he may be replaced by two others. If still no agreement is come to, the gjaksur may bring more con-jurors, who are members of his family, up to the number of eight.

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the
[782 church (or mosque) before which the council has been held. In the
608] church the candles are lighted on the altar, and in the presence of the
priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood and is, therefore, innocent. Next swear those of his family who may have been summoned, and then all the con-jurors. After this the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood (*v.* Blood Brotherhood).

By Moslems the oath is sworn in the mosque.

693 Each of the con-jurors has to be paid a small fee for his services. The plaintiff in some cases can thus annoy the accused by insisting upon the full number of con-jurors allowed by the law. A priest counts as twelve con-jurors, and sometimes an important elder is reckoned as two.

628 The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.

627 To Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari, I am indebted for an
682 account of how two families can make peace voluntarily without appeal
to the law. Having ascertained by means of emissaries that peace will be acceptable, the gjaksur and his relatives choose a feast day and enter the house of the injured family with their hands bound. A child placed the wrong way round in a cradle is carried with them. If the peace offer is accepted the lord of blood loosens their bonds and puts the child straight in the cradle. The blood-gelt is then arranged and paid. This custom existed among the Dukagini.

682 The above all refers to a murder committed by one man. But it
628 may happen that several men all fire at once and kill a man. A search

for bullets is made in the body. If four men have fired and but three 682
bullets are found, any one of them may be innocent of the death. 628
If each can get twenty-four con-jurors to swear innocence with him,
all secure acquittal. Any who cannot find twenty-four con-jurors are
guilty and owe blood. If there are as many bullets as men, then all
owe blood.

For killing a woman, which is a rare thing, blood may be taken. 682
If she is unmarried, it is taken by her father's family; usually by her
brother. If married, her father's family may take blood for her within
the year. After that only her husband's family has the right to do so.
Blood-gelt, if any, for a woman is very small. The tribe does not punish
the murderer; it is purely a family affair. The death of a woman does
not weaken the tribe, for she is of another blood and can easily be
replaced from without; whereas a man cannot be replaced.

If a pregnant woman be killed two bloods can be claimed. Dom 682
Kol Ashti told me that cases have occurred even in which a grave has 843
been opened to settle the question of blood-gelt for the unborn child,
and full payment claimed if it proved to be a male.

Cases in which killing is justified and is not punishable.—1. Blood may 684
be taken for rape and none may be taken in return.

2. If the relatives of the man who is shot succeed in taking blood 682
at once, shoot the murderer that day, the blood is laid and no more
can be taken.

3. A woman taken in adultery may be killed along with her partner 684
by her husband or brother, and no punishment follows. But should
her husband kill her and not the man, her family can take blood for her.

In none of the above cases, I believe, does the tribe punish; nor has 682
the tribe, at any rate in some places, the power to punish a crime 578
committed within the "shpi" (house). When I was in Shala, at the
priest's house in 1908, we heard two shots fired. Someone ran in to
call the priest to a man who was dying; it was too late. In a dispute [685]
about the irrigation channels in the fields, a man had killed his own
first cousin. Both were inmates of one large house. The crime excited
genuine horror and was loudly discussed. Public opinion seemed to
think something should be done—but what? It is the clear duty of a
house to take blood as atonement for blood that has been taken. But
the house, having already lost a man, cannot make matters any better
by taking more of its own blood. This could not be expected; nor
could any outsider interfere in what was a matter for the house lord.
He could not be both lord of blood and gjaksur—could not owe himself
blood. It was, in fact, an example of *patria potestas*. He decided to do
nothing but hold a fine funeral to show his regret for the loss; and so
sure was he that he was acting correctly that he sent a boy to the priest's

682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
576 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must
have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—
perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received
at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets.
Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in
earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death
over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue,
no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family
of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense
that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes
strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the
[608] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and
the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood.
The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized
(this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case
think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man
or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the
nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is
in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price
to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the
wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is,
in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

The question as to whether a wound had really been given accidentally 683 was, of course, a fertile source of dispute. In a land where everyone carried fire-arms there were surprisingly few accidents.

THEFT

Theft within the Tribe.—The procedure for trial is the same as with 685 murder. The plaintiff appeals to the bairaktar if he has previously not been able to obtain redress by appealing to the head of the family which has robbed him.

A sufficient number of con-jurors must then be found before whom [693] the accused may swear his innocence and who will swear it with him.

There is a fixed number for various thefts. Eight for horse-stealing, six for cattle-, and two for sheep- or goat-stealing.

A thief found guilty has to pay twice the value of the article stolen: give two sheep for one. Half the value of the article stolen is divided between the elders who have tried the case. For anything stolen off Church land as much as ten times the value may be demanded; and in olden times I was assured that a fancy value was placed upon a stolen cock—possibly because it was held to have great power against evil spirits. If a man's only cock was stolen, it is easy to see that these might suddenly attack him when unprotected.

If the house or cattle-shed is broken into, an extra fine of about £4 has to be paid.

The number of con-jurors depends on the value of the stolen article, and may be as many as ten.

Theft from another Tribe.—As in the Highlands of Scotland of old, 685 721 lifting cattle from across the border of another tribe was considered rather a sporting event than a crime.

Mountain bands who raided the environs of Scutari and carried off Turkish goods were heroes. The practice was precisely the same as that of the Chetniks of Montenegro and the Hayduks of Bosnia. This custom had been modified, and the tendency was to arrange intertribal theft by arbitration—the procedure being the same as that with theft within the tribe, except that heads of both tribes took part in them.

This was usual in Maltsia e Madhe. But in the Dukagini tribes, especially the distant ones, much cattle- and horse-theft went on between tribes who, owing to blood-feud, had not a "besa" (peace oath) with each other. When I was in Nikaj, one of the wildest of the tribes, Nikaj and Krasnichi were on the worst terms. Watch-fires twinkled at night on the Krasnichi mountains, and talk was all of horse-stealing and cattle-lifting.

579 A quarrel broke out between Krasnichi and Shala. Shala had a besa
685 with Krasnichi, but the Krasnichi had harried some Christian villages
609 near Djakova which claimed descent from Shala. Shala therefore declared the besa ended and raided Krasnichi at night, stealing three mules. This caused complications, for Shala and Krasnichi do not border with each other. Krasnichi sent three headmen to Nikaj to accuse Nikaj of having sheltered and fed the mule-stealers on their way, and being thus party to the theft. The Nikaj men and three Krasnichi sat all day at the foot of the big wooden cross in front of the church and argued furiously—Nikaj loudly protesting ignorance and innocence of the whole affair and bidding Krasnichi to go to Shala.

Vexed with Shala for getting them into trouble thus, a day or two afterwards Nikaj went a-raiding to Shala and stole two fine horses. Shala sent delegates and complained that the theft was unfair. The horses were not Shala horses but belonged to guests—some Klimenti men who had come under besa to pasture some beasts. The horses were, therefore, under besa, too, and should not be touched. Nikaj only replied rudely: "You should not leave the horses of guests straying about." And my horse and Marko's were put at night into one of the church outbuildings to secure them from retort. The two horse-stealers, however, kindly offered to sell the horses to Shala for five hundred piastres apiece. Shala was enraged. The sitting lasted till late, and the debate was put off till to-morrow. But next day the Shala men and the horses had all disappeared in the night. The two horse-thieves came in hot indignation to the church house to ask the Franciscan's advice. They considered that in stealing their own horses back and going off with them Shala had played a dirty trick and acted most unfairly. The Franciscan, Marko, and I all shouted with laughter: "Bravo, Shala!" The two thieves were hurt. In all innocence they told of the great pains they had taken to steal the horses in the first place, and now they had been robbed. It was most unfair. Nor could the padre make them see it in another light; for to them robbery from a tribe with which there is no besa was rather a merit than a crime.

Nikaj argued that if Shala had the right to take back these horses, then Shala should restore the three mules taken from Krasnichi. A delegate came from Shala to debate this and to ask, "Are you in besa with Krasnichi? If so, we return the mules." As Nikaj was in blood with Krasnichi and only a day or two before had refused to have anything to do with the mule matter, Nikaj could not defend its proposition. Shala withdrew, leaving Nikaj furious and the poor horse-thieves much depressed.

609 Such raids, of course, easily start blood-feuds. The more civilized
579 tribes and the intelligent headmen, who were increasing in number

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing 609
them in the same manner as theft within the tribe. 579

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought 726 about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes.

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may 684
compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate 848
child must pay for its keep.

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head. 685

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe 423
or any outsider. 428

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

842
Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no 554
account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of 562
his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has 592

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right
to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law,
and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe
the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it
if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of
the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool
for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains
unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting.
Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that
the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where
an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and
takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may
turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling
wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

should strike the next man and the blow would entail a fight and 671
blood. Women should walk the length of a distaff apart—they usually
spin as they go—lest a blow given should draw their men into a fight.

Neither man nor woman must pass between two persons who have 671
just been speaking together, for (? in some occult manner) this will 576
cause them to quarrel. So strong is this belief that once in a small hut
a woman gripped me by the shoulder, dragged me out, and squeezed
herself between me and the wall in order to avoid passing between
me and Marko, where there was plenty of room. Lek, I was told, had
so ordained. I like to think that he did his best by means of house-burning and fines to diminish the very ancient custom of "blood," and
that he did not deserve the Pope's excommunication.

As we have seen, house-burning and fine are the only punishments 681
under the Canon. Nevertheless, by decree of the council of the whole 627
tribe the death penalty can be inflicted. In February 1912 an amazing
case of wholesale justice was reported to me which had recently taken
place in Mirdita. A certain family of the Fandi bairak had long been
notorious for evil-doing—robbing, shooting, and being a pest to the
tribe. A gathering of all the heads condemned all the males of the family
to death. Men were appointed to lay in wait for them on a certain day
and pick them off; and on that day the whole seventeen of them were
shot. One was but five and another but twelve years old. I protested
against thus killing children who must be innocent and was told: [827]
"It was bad blood and must not be further propagated." Such was
the belief in heredity that it was proposed to kill an unfortunate woman
who was pregnant, lest she should bear a male and so renew the evil.
Three shots which missed were fired at her; she rushed to a man and [671]
called on him to protect her. He took her under his besa and she
was spared.

A case of private "justice," though it took place in South Albania 681
at Postenani, a small isolated village, and so is not connected with the 183
Canon of Lek, is so singular that it should be recorded. I stayed some
days at the village and, when leaving, a crowd gathered to see me start.
When we were on the way my guide asked if I had noticed a woman
who had stood near the door; I had not. He said it was a pity, as she
was a very brave woman and had saved her husband. They owned a
house and some land; a child was born to them, and all went well till
her husband's brother arrived. He was a bad man, and demoralized
the village, not only by starting gambling with card games, but by [525]
drinking and teaching very vicious practices to the youth. The woman
with dismay saw her husband taken with the gambling craze, playing
away his goods, and nearing ruin. Then the child was ill. She prayed
her husband to send for a doctor; but the nearest was a whole day's

681 ride distant, and he replied it would cost too much. The child died. 183 The woman then became desperate, and to save her husband she killed her brother-in-law. I asked, "Did she shoot him herself?" "No, she 627 paid a Turk to waylay him on his way to market." The whole village was glad to be rid of him. Everyone knew she had done it. "But what did her husband say?" "At first he was angry, but he soon saw it was for the best. Now they live happily, but God has not given them another child." "Could he not have been handed over to justice instead of being shot?" "No, he was rich and would have bribed the Turkish authorities, and have been let off and been worse than ever." "Did not the Turkish authorities interfere about the murder?" "No, why should they? It was within the family, and all agreed it was right. She saved not only her husband but the whole village, and was a very brave woman."

3. MONTENEGRO

[illegible] The first written Code of Laws was drawn up for Montenegro by Vladika Petar I in 1796.

An examination of this Code shows that it is meant to deal with a state of affairs resembling that with which the Canon of Lek Dukagin deals, and is a step in advance. All early accounts of Montenegro show the tribes ceaselessly "in blood" with each other, and the rules and customs identical in most respects with those of the Dukagini. Nor is this surprising, for our examination of the Montenegrin tribes has shown that many are of Vlah and Albanian origin, and that the Montenegrin is not so much a Serb as a Serbized descendant of the older inhabitants.

Vladan Georgevitch, in *Europa i Crnagora* (Belgrade, 1912), gives many documents which show this resemblance of the customs of Montenegro to those of the Dukagini. From that of the Russian, Putchkov, dated March 21, 1760, we learn that the then Vladika Vasili was afraid of his own people and kept near Putchkov as a protection. This shows that in Montenegro, as in Albania, a man could not be shot if with a guest. "The people," he said, "are wild, and without great trouble no order could be made among them, for they recognized no right and knew no law. If any does harm to another, blood is at once taken, and the murderer flies to another district, where he is safe from punishment. Thus a Popovitch of Tzrmnitza Nahia killed a neighbour and, leaving wife and children, fled to Cetinje. They 'destroyed' his house—that is, they pulled off the thatch and pulled out a few stones." He reports that he saw many such houses. "If the murderer is of a powerful house he stays at home, and 'the house' wages war with that of the murdered man till peace is arranged by the headmen or the

[P77-120 blank]

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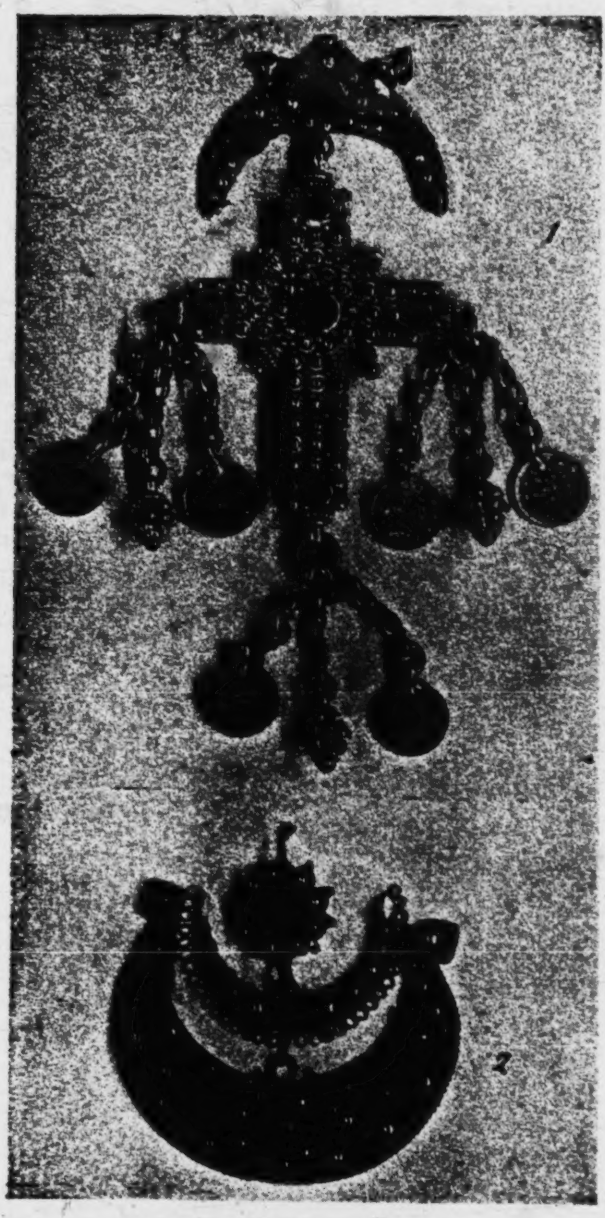

PLATE IV

(1) CRESCENT AND CROSS ORNAMENT
(2) CRESCENTS AND STAR

Worn by Catholic women of Maltsia e Madhe.

NOTE.—Here the "Suns" at the ends of the cross are replaced by coins and a pendant resembling the cowry shape. Both cross and crescent are covered with rayed balls.

[Facing p. 121]

visible mark has a strong effect on primitive and childish minds— 000 witness national flags and school and college colours. The missionizing "popes" of the Orthodox Church had every reason to denounce a practice which thus "sealed" part of the population and made it turn a deaf ear to the attractions of Byzantium.

To this day the object of the Orthodox is to wipe all that belongs to Rome from the peninsula. I found the bitterest dislike, even among the educated classes; and among the peasants neither side would admit that the other was Christian. In early days the struggle must have been even cruder than to-day.

3. TATTOOING IN ALBANIA

We will trace these symbols farther south. In North Albania I 301 noticed that every Catholic woman among the five large tribes (Kastrati, 531 Shkreli, Hotí, Gruda, and Klementi) wore, if not too poor, a large silver filigree crescent and star stitched to the crown of her flat cap; or a similar design was embroidered and the "star" then larger. Asked why they wore a Turkish symbol, they crossed themselves and denied the charge indignantly, saying: "We wear it because we always do. It is not Turkish. We are good Catholics." They declared also it was 174 "very old"; and were quite correct. For the sun and moon symbol, as we have seen, was long pre-Turkish in the Balkans. I next found that 304 the bulk of these tribes-folk, both men and women, are tattooed on 531 the back of the hand, the forearm, or the breast (seldom on all) with a cross; but never a plain cross. It has a crescent above and below it; or the arms terminate in small circles, as do those on Byzantine coins; or some in circles and some in crescents; or the cross is in the "sun-wheel" form. None of these people at all objected to showing the tattoos. I at once recognized in a simplified form the elements of the Bosnian designs. Most people said they did it because they were Catholics. Anxious to give a reason, one man said it was to ensure you Christian burial if you died abroad.

When I asked the Albanian tribesmen what was the meaning of the circle and crescent on the cross-arms, they said at once it was "Dielli" —the sun; and "Hana"—the moon. The cross was to show you were a Christian. What were the sun and moon for? The only reply was "per bukur" (for beauty). Often they laughed and gave none. Mgr. Ernesto Cozzy, then priest of Rechi and later Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, a Tyrolese whose knowledge of the mountain people was the result of years of sympathetic study, told me: "They have a number of 304 curious pagan beliefs which they will not tell me. I have found that 771

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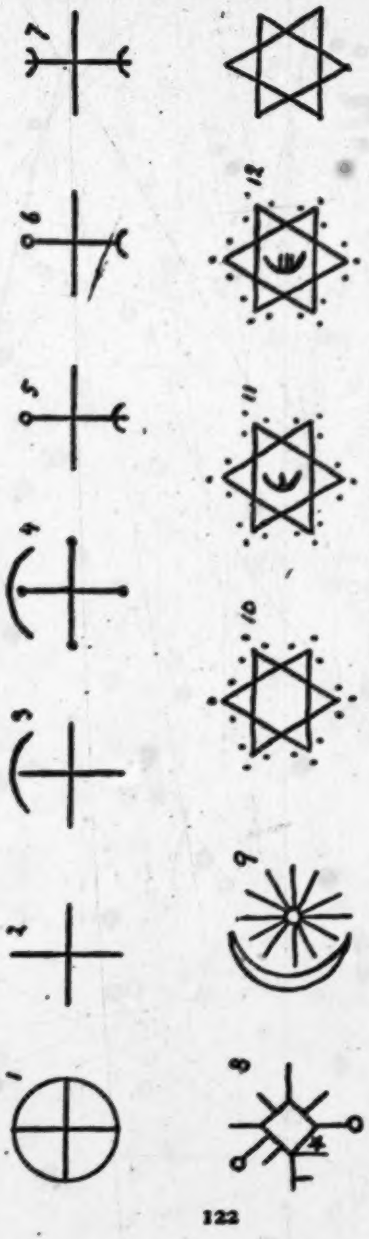


FIG. 7.—ALBANIAN TATTOO PATTERNS

1–7. Common tattoos of Catholic tribesmen. 8 and 9. Two curious tattoos on Catholic Scutarenes. 10 and 13. Moslem tattoos common in mountains and in Scutari. 11 and 12. Patterns common on Moslem houses.

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in conflict 304
—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. 771
So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. 531
Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died 114
in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile
of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and
his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to 776
Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle 174
I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and
my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is 776
the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and 174
floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and
lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according
to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of
destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern 776
and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can
be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his [787]
armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he
will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of
Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni,
which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is [821]
driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale
—Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda 531
tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear 304
tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from 173
the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the
ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the
northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

304 [173] the influence of the Roman missionaries. Tattooing is not confined to tribes tracing northern origin, but is more marked among them.

Among the Pulati and Dukagini, who trace a different origin, tattooing is common but not universal, and takes the form often of

[764]

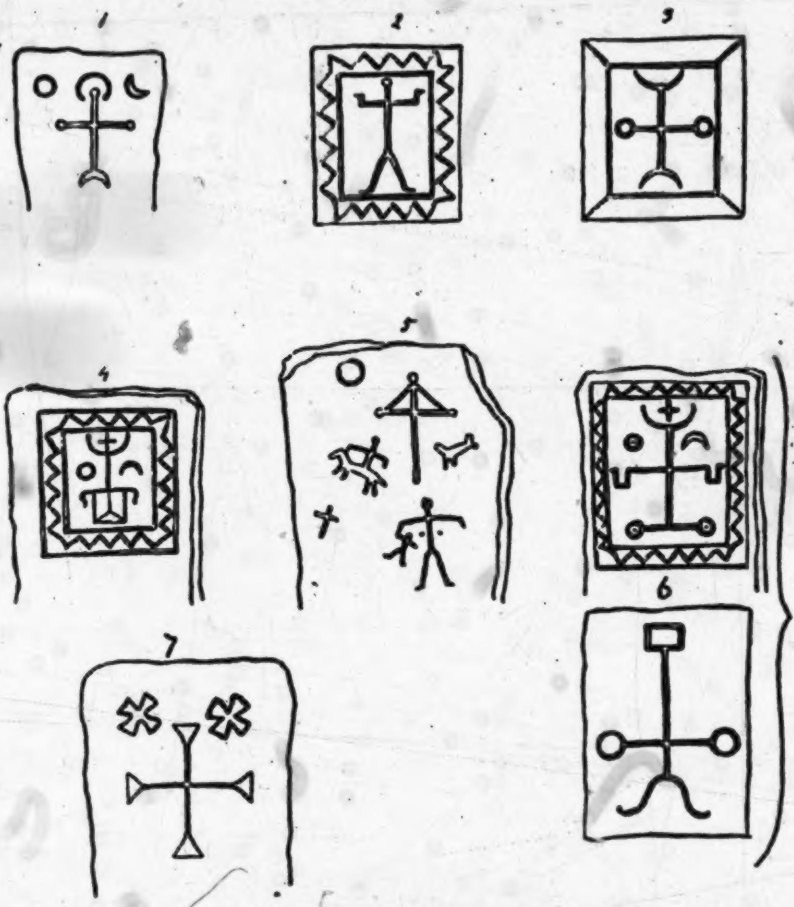


FIG. 8.—MODERN GRAVESTONES IN ROMAN CATHOLIC GRAVEYARD, DUSHMANI, NORTHERN ALBANIA

(Showing variants of Cross, Crescent, and Sun. All recent)

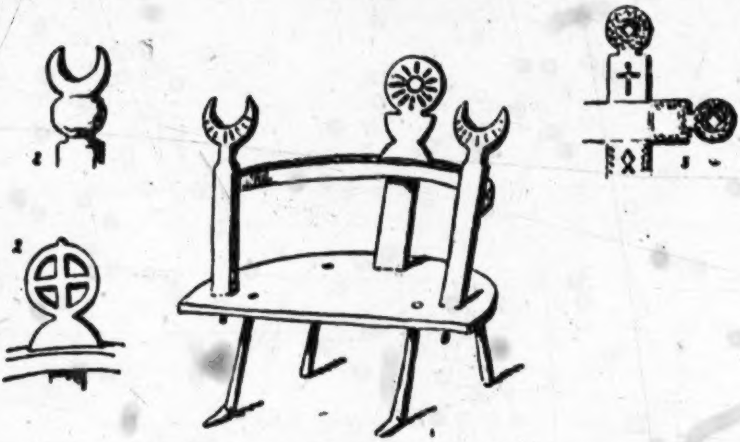
one tiny cross. I did not see a sun or moon tattoo, but found the sun and moon extremely common carved on graves, furniture, over doors, etc. Here the moon is carved as a semicircle with rays, just as shown in the Bosnian tattoos.

Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

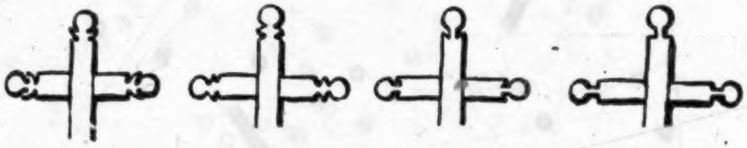
The finest carved rayed suns are those on the arms of the big wooden 531 crosses in the Theti graveyard, which are beautifully chip-carved 764 (Fig. 9, No. 3). Upon one of them a carved watch and chain marks the grave of the first tribesman of Thethi who possessed one.

Most interesting are some quite recent gravestones at Dushmani

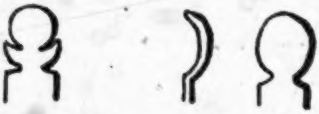
[352]



1. "Sun and Moon" Chair, Shala. 2. Variant design of arm, end, and back. 3 Cross terminating in "suns," Thethi.



4. Series of common wooden crosses, showing all stages of patterns (Catholic cemeteries).



5. Wooden headpost and head and foot posts of Moslem graves (Hashi and Puka).

FIG. 9.—SUN AND MOON PATTERNS IN NORTH ALBANIA

(Fig. 8), whereon strange devices are carved, in some of which the cross and sun are turned into the figure of a man. A woman who came up told me I was drawing the grave of her mother (Fig. 8, No. 6). Asked what was the meaning of the things upon it, she said: "We poor people of the mountains cannot write. I put this to remember my mother. The sun and moon are 'per bukur' (to look pretty)."

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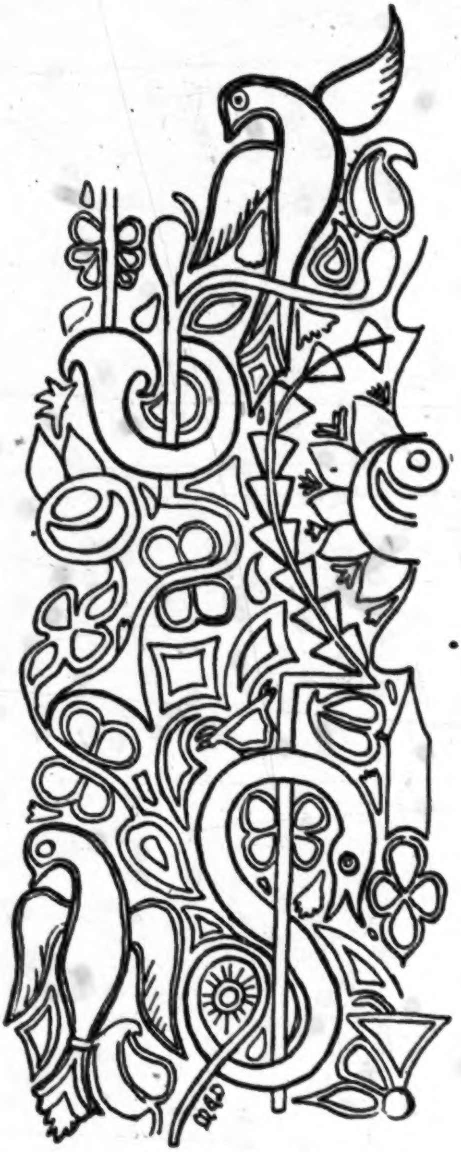

FIG. 10.—BIRD AND SERPENT DESIGN ON SCUTARI WOMAN'S CLOAK

Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The large uncarved wooden crosses in most of the graveyards of 531
Dukagini and Pulati (Fig. 9) show at the ends of the arms either (1) a sun 764
and crescent, (2) a sun alone, or (3) a sun with two notches below it—a transition form in which the carpenter has forgotten what the crescent is and merely chopped notches. The sun-wheel forms the back and the crescent and sun the ends of the arms of the typical wooden armchair in which the house-lord sits. Such chairs were used by all the tribes, but are now chiefly found in the further Dukagini tribes. The chip-carved distaffs of the women show the cross frequently; but chip-carving does not lend itself to curves, and the moon appears as an angle on which the cross stands. Some distaffs, however, suggest that their complicated designs are based on rayed curves, though they are now angular.

The cross and rayed sun are also traceable on many of the elaborately 291
knitted socks. Here, owing to the exigencies of the material, the sun 531
is square, but the rays are duly shown.

A rayed sun is part of the elaborate design embroidered on the scarlet cloak of the married Catholic women of Scutari. Of this design, which with variations consists always of similar elements, I have failed to find an explanation. "It must be some old story which we have forgotten," say the embroiderers, who are always men. The sun, an ear of wheat (? feather), a flowering plant, the dove and the serpent always appear. It is given to the bride by the bridegroom on her wedding-day. [585]
The sun, the wheat, and the flowers suggest fertility. And the facts that the serpent and dove were symbols of the mother goddess worshipped at Knossos, and that bird and serpent played an important part in Egyptian mythology, show that the origin of this Albanian pattern is, indeed, so old that it is no wonder the embroiderers have forgotten it (Figs. 10 and 11).

The sun and moon were firmly established as symbols in the Balkans 174
long before the Turk arrived. I think that probably the Turkish crescent 531
and star is really the rayed sun and moon, the sun being diminished so as to fit decoratively within the crescent.

On the wall of a house at Vuthaj, when the district was wholly 531
Moslem and almost closed to outsiders, I saw, in 1908, a large rayed 342
sun painted with a slim crescent beside it (Fig. 12, No. 10). More striking yet was the emblem at that time placed over the gate of the Turkish Konak at Prizren. It was a large wooden sun with long rays of unequal length. At the tip of each ray was a small wooden crescent. At this time there was huge excitement over the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, and I was warned neither to draw nor photograph anything in public. I made, therefore, only a memory sketch (Fig. 12, No. 9), but it gives a correct idea of this curious sign, which, as the

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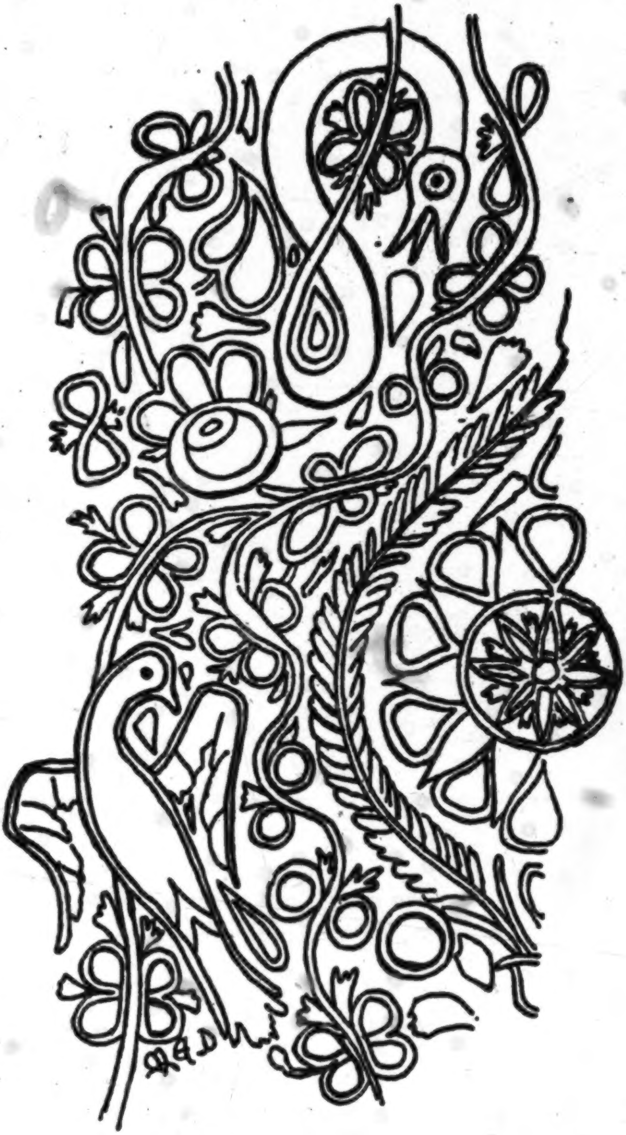

FIG. 11.—BIRD AND SERPENT DESIGN

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PLATE V.—MONTENEGRIN DANCE

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PLATE VI.—KRSTO AND IKÉ (GUSLE-PLAYING)

[Facing p. 129]

place has been given to the Jugoslavs, has doubtless been destroyed. A 531
Here beyond doubt the Turkish "star" is the sun. The crescents at 342
the ray-tips suggest that many of the "twigs" of the Bosnian tattoos are really tiny crescents at the end of rays, and have in many cases been evolved into crosses.

We have examined tattooing and sun-symbols among the Catholics. Y
The Moslems of Bosnia, according to Truhelka, occasionally tattoo. [304]
I saw no examples myself.

But among the Moslems of North Albania tattooing is common. A 304
In the entirely Moslem districts of Hasi, Vuthaj, Arnji, and by the 531
Moslems of Luria it was not easy to make any investigation, and impossible to ask questions. The population received me kindly as the only female foreigner who had ever visited them. But the "giaour" was suspected of being the forerunner of foreign annexation, and any questions regarding beliefs would have led to difficulties and probably closed the route to me. I could only observe and make secret notes. I saw many tattooed Moslems in these districts but never a tattooed crescent and star. All, both here and at Scutari, were marked with a triangle, and sometimes with an Arabic inscription. Or with a double triangle—which forms a star and is, I suppose, the substitute for the rayed sun. This same triangle or double triangle (Fig. 7, Nos. 10–13) A
is commonly painted on Moslem houses both up-country and in Scutari, [342
where it sometimes contains a crescent within it. Oddly enough, the 531]
only time I saw the crescent and rayed sun (or star) without a cross as a tattoo it was on the hand of an old Catholic in Scutari (Fig. 12, No. 9).

But though the up-country Moslem does not tattoo the sun and A 764
crescent (probably because the Christians tattoo them along with the cross), he cuts them out of wood—a circle for the sun and a sickle-shaped piece for the moon—and plants them at head and foot of his graves. Or the circle with a crescent below is cut in one piece and used as headpost (Fig. 9, No. 5). The Moslem Albanian, in fact, on quitting Christianity has rejected the cross but retained the ancient religious symbols of his pre-Christian ancestors—the sun and moon. He has not, except in the towns which were under Turkish influence, adopted the well-known Turkish gravestone with turban or fez upon it.

Emerging from these Moslem tribes I was amused to find that at A 531
Prizren, which was then by large majority Albanian, the sun and moon 346
figured over the door of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

In Montenegro, traces of sun and moon can be found. The arms of M
the solid stone crosses usual in the graveyards end as a rule in hemi- 764
spheres. Limestone is hard to tackle and no moon appears. When, 531
however, a cross is carved in relief on a slab the moon appears as a

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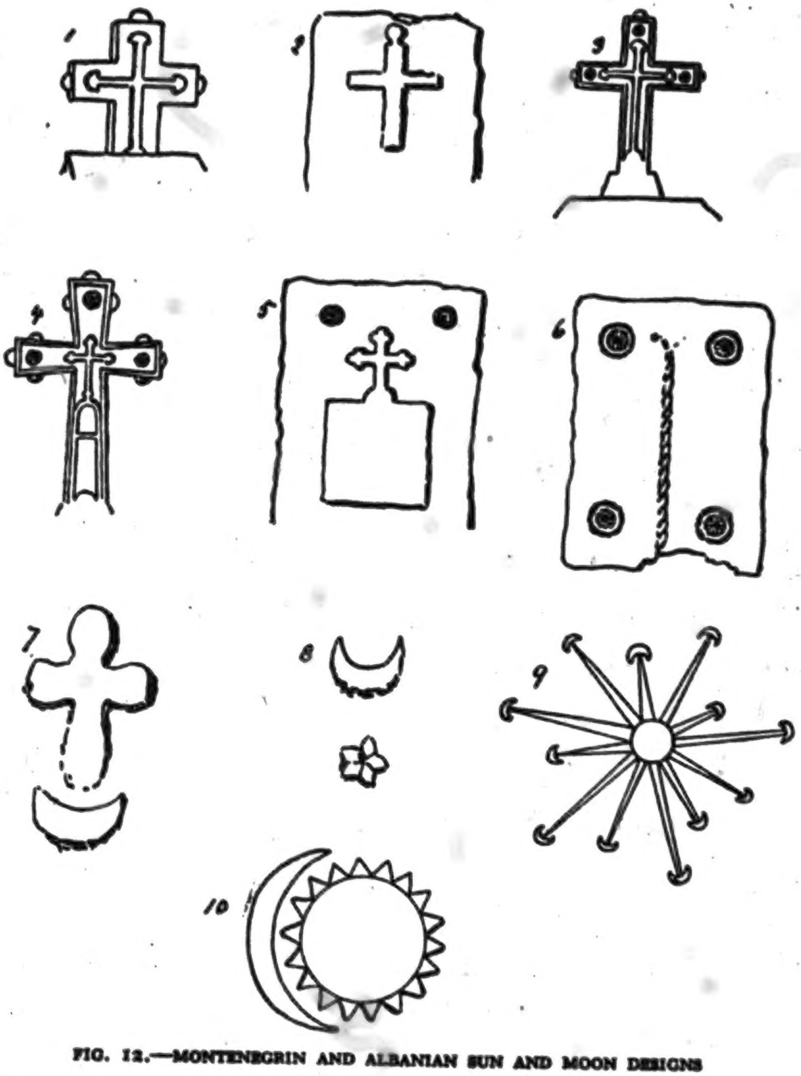

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FIG. 12.—MONTENEGRIN AND ALBANIAN SUN AND MOON DESIGNS

1–5. Modern Montenegrin gravestones, showing sun-and-moon cross. 6–8. Mediaeval gravestones at Stolatz, Herzegovina, ascribed to Bogumil period. 9. Wooden sun with crescents on the Konak at Prizren (1908). 10. Rayed sun and crescent on Moslem house at Vulthaj.

Montenegrins EF5
Historical Yugoslavia FF2

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crescent upon which the cross stands and the half-sphere is clearly 764
the sun. The design is, in fact, much like some of the Albanian 531
tattoos (*v.* Fig. 7). The sun-circle on the cross is common also upon
graves much nearer home, but into its history we cannot now enter.

A trace of Bogumilism (or Manichæism) among the Montenegrins M
especially, but among other of the Serb-speaking peoples also, is 174
probably the custom of apologizing for the existence of a wife: "Moja 521
zhena da oprostish"(My wife, if you will forgive me), the formula which,
till recently, was always used when a man had to indicate his wife's
existence. Marriage among the Bogumils was permitted only among the M
lower order, and the married, it appears, were the lowly, and served Y
the "Perfect," who were celibate. It seems probable that it was when 532
Bogumilism flourished that the custom of apologizing for the existence 538
of a wife arose. This is indicated by a note of Vuk Karadjitch to the 698
well-known ballad of the Maiden of Kosovo. The wounded warrior asks the maiden who is wandering on the battlefield: "Art thou searching for thy brother or thy cousin, or thy old *father through sin*?" She replies that she seeks neither brother, cousin, nor old father through sin. Vuk explains: "father through sin means real father. This shows the popular belief that marriage was a sin. I have heard a great chief say of his son: 'He is my son through sin.'" The Manichæan theory that woman is compounded of evil and devoid of particles of Light may lurk behind the Montenegrins' (and other South Slavs') disgust at the birth of a daughter and contemptuous treatment of women. All beliefs that take a strong hold upon a people as a rule leave some sort of a "mental scar."

4. A BIRD TRADITION IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA ~~000~~

It is noteworthy that even to-day a large proportion of the people who live in the districts we are considering identify themselves with birds, and a mass of traditional ballads shows that the custom is ancient.

The Albanians call themselves Shkypetars, their language Shkyp, and their land Shkyperia or Shkypnia. This they derive from "shkyp," an eagle; and say, "We are the sons of the eagle, our land is the land of the eagle." Beyond a vague idea that to kill an eagle is unlucky I could learn nothing about it; but in Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus, King of Epirus*, who is still a popular hero in Albania, we are told that after his great victory over the Macedonians his Epirots hailed him as "The Eagle." Skenderbeg, the mediæval chieftain, adopted the eagle for his banner, and the eagle is the crest of the newly formed Albanian State.

[p.132- 151 blank]

000 Brother—Brat. Applied to all cousins within the bratstvo in ordinary conversation. "Born brother" or "brother by my mother" added to explain real brother.

Sister—Sestra.

A woman's husband's brother is her Djever.

A woman's husband's sister is her Zaova.

A woman's sister is her husband's Svast.

A woman's brother is her husband's Shura. The Shura's wife is Shurnjaja.

The wives of two or more brothers are each other's Jetrva.

A woman's father is her husband's Tast.

A man's father is his wife's Svekar.

A man's mother is his wife's Svekrva.

A woman's mother is her husband's Punitza.

Nephew (brother's child) is Bratanatz or Sinovatz, or Bratuched.

Nephew (sister's child) is Sestritch.

A man's sister's husband is his Svak.

A man's brother's wife is his Snaha.

A daughter of the house married into another tribe is called Odiva.

A cousin on the father's side to almost any degree, Rodjak or Bratsvenik.

When first plunged into a peasant family one finds these numerous names most complicated.

RELATIONSHIPS IN NORTH ALBANIA

Mother's Side.

601 Mother—Am. But familiarly and commonly Nané.

Uncle (mother's brother)—Daje, or Vla i Nanes.

Aunt (mother's sister)—Dajeshe, or Tezé.

Daughter—E bija. Often Vaiza eme (my maiden).

Sister—Moter.

Wife—Shoké (lit., companion). Sometimes Fat, my fate.

Bride or fiancée or newly married woman—Nusé.

Mother-in-law—Vjehera.

The in-law family collectively—Vjeherii.

Daughter-in-law—Ree.

Godmother—Nriku, or Nuné.

Cousin on mother's side. This seemed hardly to be considered a relation. Marko denied that his mother's sister's daughter was his "cousin," but said if she had been his father's sister's child she would have been his Kushrina. The dictionaries give "kushrina" without mentioning on which side the family. There seems to be no special word for "cousin" on female side.

Female head of the household—E zoja shpis.

Father's Side.

Father—Bab. (This is the word commonly used. When speaking of the father of the family, Ati fmjevet would be used. Ati is used when speaking of God the Father, e.g. Ati i pustueshem, the Eternal Father.)

Grandfather (father's father)—Gyushi.

Great-grandfather—Katragjushi.

Brother—Vlla.

Brethren collectively—Vllaznii.

Relationships and Blood Customs

Uncle (father's brother)—Adzh: this is a Turkish word, but is in common use. There is another word, which is Albanian: "Mighe," also "unghe," but "adzh" is commonly used. 601

Aunt (father's sister)—Hallé.
Nephew (brother's or sister's son)—Nipi, collectively Nipnii.
Niece (brother's or sister's daughter)—Mesé.
Son—I biri.
Brother-in-law—Konati.
Son-in-law—Dhaner. Also used for bridegroom and fiancé.
Sister-in-law—Kunata.
Cousin—Kushrin.
Female cousin—Kushrina.
Husband—Shok, i.e. companion; or Bur, i.e. man.
Father-in-law—Vjeher.
Godfather, sponsor—Kumar. Godfather of baptism—Kumar i pakzimit. [608]
Godfather of haircutting—Kumar i flokah.
Tribe—Fis.
Relations collectively—Dzinije.

Vlaznija, lit. brethren. A large family group within the tribe like the Montenegrin bratstvo.
Mehala—a Turkish word used for a group of related houses, i.e. a Vlaznija.
Shpi—House and house community.
Krue—Head of a Vlaznija or Mehala.
Plak—Old man. Hence an elder—member, that is, of a tribal council. [623]
Zoti i shpis—Lord of the house.
Bairaktar—Standard-bearer. Head of Fis (Turkish word).

2. Blood-brotherhood

"But the flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof shall ye not eat" (Gen. ix. 4). 608

"For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof" (Lev. xvii. 14). 174

He who ate the blood would take within him the life of the beast—would become, in fact, partly beast. It follows naturally that he who eats the blood of man establishes kinship with him whose life he thus shares. Blood-brotherhood is a very old and widespread custom. "Whenever the Scythians," says Herodotus (Bk. IV, lxx), "form alliances a large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties . . . in this cup they dip some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After some solemn praying the parties who form the contract . . . finally drink the contents of the bowl."

From the lands lying north-east of the Balkans came down neighbours of the Scythians, the Pechinegs and the Comans, and the Bulgars. The Comans, says B. H. Minns (*v. Scythians and Greeks*), were a

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174 Mongol people. Both Pechinegs and Comans, we hear in contemporary accounts of the Crusades, were used as soldiery by the Balkan princes.

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726 A vivid account of Balkan armies in the Middle Ages is given by Nicephor Gregory and by Villehardouin (*v.* Dufresne Ducange, *History of Constantinople*, 1729), telling of the Latin capture of Constantinople when Count Baldwin of Flanders and the other princes established a Latin empire there, though on their way to a crusade in Palestine.

In 1204 Baldwin was crowned Emperor of Byzantium in St. Sofia with great magnificence, and was about to lead an army eastward when, "on a sudden, like the crash of a great thunderstorm, the terror of a Bulgarian rising stayed them. John, the brother of the first Asan and his successor, with troops levied through all Bulgaria, and not a few of the Scythians who dwell north of the Ister (Danube), fell upon Thrace with violence and greatly endangered the Latin State." Baldwin fought the Bulgars, with terrible slaughter on both sides. But the heavily armoured Crusaders could not cope with the swift Scythians; "some forty thousand Comans, who are a pagan people," ambushed them and overwhelmed them with lances and arrows. The ground was covered with corpses. Many Latins were taken prisoner, among them Baldwin himself, who was never seen again. "And the Scythians, in their fashion, laid waste Macedonia."

The whole of Villehardouin's account of the Fourth Crusade in the Balkans is of high interest for the light it throws on the conditions then prevailing. We see the Balkans reinforced by hordes from the north-east. Russia has always pressed Balkan-ward, and will again. The Turk had not yet arrived on the scene, but the Balkan already was the East, with aims and aspirations different from those of the West—a thing apart from West Europe, with its civilization built upon Rome. The Fourth Crusade was but one of the many vain attempts of the West to establish a permanent footing in the East.

Vain it was. Baldwin II, the last Latin emperor, poverty-stricken, was reduced to obtaining funds by selling the much-treasured relic, the Crown of Thorns, to the King of France, and buying the support of those very Comans who had formerly broken the Latin forces. He did this by swearing an alliance "with these barbarous people. In order to make the treaty more solemn they drew blood from their veins—one giving it to be drunk by the other, believing that from this mixture of blood they contracted a kind of brotherhood . . . which our people, driven by the necessity in which they found themselves, had also to do."

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643 Thus in 1240 did the knights of France swear blood-brotherhood with pagans—a grotesque result of a Crusade which was to free the East of Unbelievers. A French noble, Nariot de Toucy, further cemented the bond by marrying the daughter of Jonas, Prince of the Comans. Vain

Byzantine Civilization EH3

efforts. Jonas died in 1241 and was buried outside Constantinople with full Scythian honours. A huge mound was raised above him, on the sides of which twenty-five of his serving-men, who voluntarily offered themselves, were hanged. Twenty-five horses were also hanged, and the prince thus provided with a mounted escort in another world. Not long afterwards the East expelled the West, and the Comans took part in the expulsion. The markedly Mongol types still common in Macedonia and Bulgaria are partly, maybe, the legacy of the "Coman and Scythian from beyond the Danube." B 608 643

The custom of blood-brotherhood is so widely spread through the world that it was probably practised by other Balkan peoples besides the Comans.

It was very common among the North Albanian tribesmen, both Catholic and Moslem, when I was in the mountains. The Catholic Church regarded it as a pagan survival, and has made no effort to "Christianize" it, as has the Orthodox. The usage of ancient days is, therefore, little changed. In its crudest form the arm, or finger, of each was pricked by a thorn, and either party licked the other's blood. The favourite and more elaborate way was described to me by my old friend, Tony Precha, of Mirdite descent, thus: "I travelled through a dangerous district with a young Moslem when I was a lad. He asked me to be his brother. I had to ask permission of my father, the head of the house. He said theirs was a good house to be allied to. When some time had passed and we still wished for brotherhood, we met, and each tied a tight string round his little finger till it swelled, then pricked the finger, and each let his blood drop on a lump of sugar. I ate his lump and he mine. We were then of the same blood and swore brotherhood. Then I dined at his house, and we gave each other presents of socks knitted in beautiful patterns. He is now dead, but his brothers are my brothers and our children are cousins, and they cannot marry for more than a hundred years." A 608

The interdict against marriage, however, in a case of sworn brotherhood, applied only to the direct descendants of the couple and not to any collaterals. A 608 582

Sugar was used in this case because one party was Moslem. In the case of Christians the blood is always taken in raki or in wine. Red wine, doubtless because most resembling blood, is the correct medium.

Blood-brotherhood was, of course, not reckoned a "forbidden degree" by the Church, but in practice was strictly observed by the people.

The swearing of blood-brotherhood between some members of either side was one of the ways of making peace after a blood-feud. In Dushmani I met a high-spirited youth who had laid in wait on the A 608 628

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628 banks of the Drin to shoot another lad with whose family he was in blood, and who was due to cross the river on the usual inflated sheep-[501] skins. Drin ran swiftly, the sheep-skin float broke loose. Soon the foe was struggling for life in the torrent. The blood-seeker threw aside his rifle, dashed into the torrent and saved his foe at the risk of his own life. They then and there swore brotherhood and the feud ceased. This episode goes to prove that blood-taking is not vengeance. The drowning of the foe would have in no way settled the feud, for expiatory blood would not have been taken.

608 The old bairaktar of Nikaj heard that I was sister to the King of England and believed a blood alliance with me would be for the good of the tribe. The priest at whose house I was, however, laughed at him uproariously and he was hurt; so I never took part in the ritual.

In Albanian this brotherhood is called "Vllam" or "Vlaa me Tenzone" (brother in God). It is also very commonly called "probotin" or "probo," an obvious corruption of the Serb "pobratim." "Birazel" (? Turkish) was, I was told, used also by the Moslems.

The custom extends all over Albania, but of the South I have no details.

Serbs and Montenegrins

000 In Montenegro I was often assured that the custom was extinct, and I never came across a case. But it possibly still lingered in out-of-the-way places. People who wished to appear "civilized" in Montenegro were very apt to deny the existence of customs they thought would be despised. But it was admitted that "pobratimstvo" had but recently died out. Medakovitch in 1860 mentions it as prevalent.

The Orthodox Church, both in Serbia and Montenegro, adopted this pagan custom and tried to "Christianize" it.

Two forms of pobratimstvo were known:—

1. "Probratimstvoprichestno" (communion pobratimstvo). "Prichest" is the word for the Holy Communion. It was not, however, a case of the two parties taking the Communion together, but a special ceremony. In the Orthodox Church, when the people receive the Communion, the Host is put into the consecrated wine. The pope takes a portion of the soaked bread in a special spoon and gives it to the communicant. The ritual for pobratimstvo, so far as I could learn, was as follows: The two parties went together to church. The pope read a prayer. The two then took a large goblet full of wine, and both, setting their lips to it, sipped at once. They then broke bread and each ate a piece. They sipped and ate together thus three times and then kissed the cross, the Gospels, and the ikon, and lastly each other. It is a curious

[p157-190 blank]

Birth, Marriage, and Death

In 1392 Bogavach Cuiavich of Rudine of his own free will releases 000 from servitude Radaca, daughter of John of Albania, whom he had bought of Braycho Ucarich.

This seems to have been the case of an actual slave. But the lot of others, when sold for a long term of service, can have been little better than slavery unless they fell into good hands.

ALBANIA

I heard of a similar custom of thus selling children for a term of A 597 years in Malacastra in South Albania. Here poor Moslems sometimes sent their daughters as far as Constantinople; and I was told that some of the Albanian beys thus purchased servant-girls from their mothers, and at the end of the term dowered them and married them to peasants on the estate. The Italian Consul at Valona, the first time I was there, told me he had thus purchased a servant girl. M

Birth.—In Albania, as in Montenegro, childbirth received but the A 844 most ignorant treatment. The death-rate of mothers and children was high.

There was great rejoicing among the mountain tribes when a boy was born and proportionate disappointment over a girl. For a son, especially a first-born, the whole family group turned out and fired rifles.

Some kind of spiritual relationship was held to exist between the child and the woman who cut the umbilical cord; but I learnt no particulars.

As in Montenegro, even in the towns there was the greatest reluctance to summon medical aid. In Scutari one day the Austrian doctor was summoned to a Moslem woman who was in the last stages of A exhaustion. He found the child was already dead, and said that to [758] save the woman's life it must be removed at once. The family refused to believe or permit this and dismissed him. Some hours later they fetched him again—but she was dead.

On the birth of a child, both in Scutari and the mountains, all the A women neighbours go at once to visit the mother and take offerings [431 of eggs. For a boy, two, four, six, or eight—an even number—are brought; for a girl, one, three, five, or seven. One egg is broken over 777] the child's face to protect it from the Evil Eye. Presumably this makes the child unrecognizable or hideous. M

Both in Albania and Montenegro, and I believe in all Balkan lands, A 854 infants are swaddled. The cradle is of wood and serves as a packing-case in which to carry the child on its mother's back. In Scutari the cradles A 854 are very gaily painted with conventional patterns of flowers and birds, 531

854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of laths—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. MARRIAGE

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

ALBANIA

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

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[Facing p. 193]

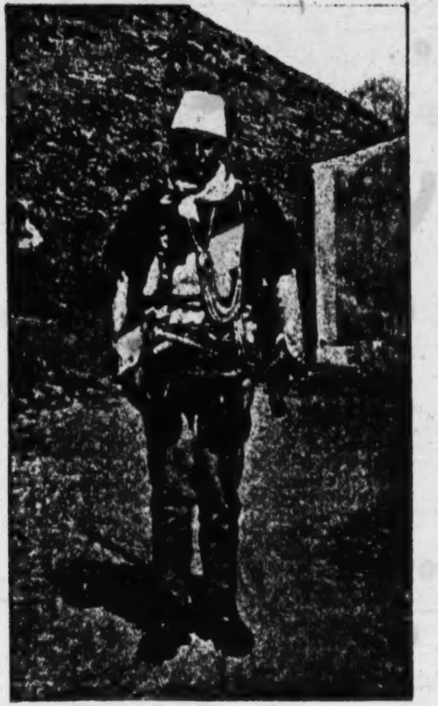

PLATE VII.—BOGA BOY IN FULL DRESS
(See p. 23)

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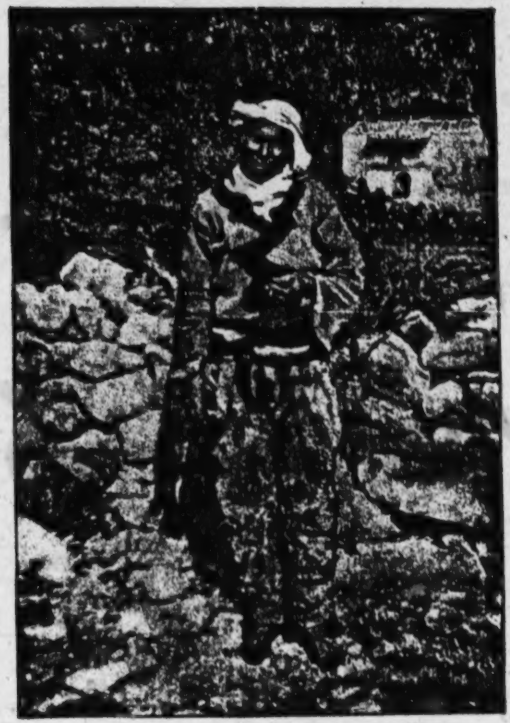

PLATE VIII.—AN ALBANIAN VIRGIN

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583
rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162
women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585 834
bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most
important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 591
one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609
days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should
cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585
born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842
it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman
bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589
married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562
has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to
do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right
to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt
twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836
ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842
priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585
betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal,
and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage."
"They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586
miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away.
In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great
trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31,
1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage."
And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima
furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584
and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577
and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each
other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the
relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted,
and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626
the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585
it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be
forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the
Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or
immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states
that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

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585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before
585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common.
584 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage
589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her
626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she
pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms,
689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given
562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself,
[illegible]39 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins
who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more.
One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish
Army undetected.

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's 689
dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to 562
one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis.
Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters
and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son.
He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after [428]
which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the
right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met
in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had
been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy.
On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping [689]
with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in
such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay
the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, 689
so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church 562
at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard 773
a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway
she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she
dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she
had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man 585
refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should
ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women
alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in 583
blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed 578
daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" 577
that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who
did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He
furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father;
the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property,
and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His
honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in
other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 583

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

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577 and ask the girl. The usual answer was that they were too modest. The suggestion seemed to be thought indecent.

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152 The fact that both in Montenegro and Albania a word of Turkish origin is used commonly for "to make love" (Montenegrin and Bosnian, "ashikovati"; Albanian, "ashik," lover—"ashari," love) suggests that love-making played little or no part in the marriages of both lands. I heard that the son of an Austrian mother and an Albanian father was betrothed and asked his mother if he was much in love. "O dear, no!" she cried. "Not in the least; he is quite Albanian!"

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583 One case only I met in which—perhaps for the first time—a betrothal was broken and the girl left free to marry. She was the niece of Mgr. Premi Dochi, mitred abbot of the Mirdites, a very remarkable man, whose death during the war was an immense loss to Albania.

I passed the night at her father's house. The girl sat sullen and glowering in a corner like a wild cat at bay. No one spoke to her. I asked what was the matter. She had refused to be sent to her betrothed. Her father was furious. Only the abbot's intervention had saved her. He talked the young man into admitting that it was useless to marry a girl who hated him and would probably run away, when another more amenable could be found, and got him to swear that no blood-
581 vengeance should be taken if the girl married another. But the father, enraged, declared often and loudly, "A girl marries to please her house and not for herself"; and rated her till I was sorry I had asked. Awe of the abbot alone had made him yield.

585 *Marriage Ceremonies.*—When the wedding-day is fixed the male relatives of the bridegroom go to fetch the bride. The bridegroom usually does not go. As the tribes are exogamous the distance may be considerable. Sometimes the men of the bride's family take her to a spot half-way and hand her over there. Sometimes she is fetched from her father's house. Moslem girls are always accompanied by one or two female relatives. Christian girls usually are, if the journey is a long one; but not always. In no case does the mother go.

Marriage among the Christians is according to the rites of the Catholic Church.

I was never at a mountain wedding, but was told some local ceremonies. In Klementi the bride, on coming to her husband's home, must throw an apple over the roof, and is given some corn. This recalls the confarreatio of the Romans. She is then led three times round the hearth. All through the mountains I gathered that a bride must enter the house with her right foot first and carry in a male child with her. On marriage the hair of the woman is dyed black and dressed differently from that of a virgin. There are various modes, according to district. In the Maltsia e Madhe the head is shaved in front and over the temples, and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585 The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842] uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592] take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584 relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583 price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585 at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291] kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301] necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291] and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom, who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576] have to assume a superhuman modesty.

585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We
went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and
[533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the
bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth
who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by
the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that
day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house.
[534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with
a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two
witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The
[292 display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic
301] ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped;
the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil
and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls
or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and
breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene
of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge
purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the
skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a
peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern
[262] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner
awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen
were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went
to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while
with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's
room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and
all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's
female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the
bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker-
[251] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took
with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which
is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married
women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell.
[777] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the
ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait,
punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are
coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither
of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take
[777 the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely
842] veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

enable her to bear male children. The ladies again sang songs of greeting. 585 Then the two bride-leaders manipulated the bride as though she were [777 a lay figure. She was absolutely passive. They raised her to her feet, 842] set her feet one after the other, shod in the wedding-boots, on to the steps of the carriage, and then on the ground. They then draped her with the red silk handkerchief sent her yesterday, and pinned it to the top of her head. Supported under the armpits she was slowly shuffled across the yard. It was but a few yards long, but her passage took full ten minutes. She was pelted with sweets, which a crowd of children gathered, and sprinkled with holy water, and led into the women's room. The bridegroom then arrived on foot and went to the men's room. I followed the bride. She was led backwards, and seated, still blinded by the veils, upon the chair in the corner. Her hands were laid on her sash and nervously grasped a folded handkerchief. Her immobility as her attendants handled her was so inhuman as to be almost horrible. One of her leaders carefully lifted a corner of her head-coverings and gave her lemonade to drink under it. The attendants [272] themselves were then ceremoniously served with refreshments. They then removed her wedding-boots and put on the slippers, raised her to her feet, lifted a corner of her veil, said good-bye under it, and withdrew. The poor bride still stirred never a finger, but the violent [152] heaving of her breast showed her on the verge of hysterics. She pulled herself together and the ordeal continued. One of the bridegroom's female relatives unpinned the red handkerchief from the bride's head and held it as a screen before her. Behind it her headdress was changed. Her white veil was removed, and a yellow beflowered silk one substituted.

The great moment had now come. We were to see her face. A lady on each side of her threw back the veil and showed her off. She was exposed to a crowd of staring females. Her head dropped modestly. Her attendants each placed a finger under her chin and raised it again. The sweat streamed down her face. They wiped it. They straightened her wide coat, settled her sash, and waved the flies off her. Such was her Spartan heroism that when a fly, unobserved by the attendants, crawled up her face, she did not even by a twitch show that she was alive. Then a front row of chairs was arranged and all the men came in. The bridegroom, witnesses, and father took their seats. The background was crowded with miscellaneous youths. They stared with all their eyes at the luckless girl, who in vain dropped or turned her head, only to have it put straight again.

Only the bridegroom held his head down and would not look. His 533 witnesses grasped his chin and made him look, and he faltered, "But 585 I've seen her already."

The wedding song then began:—

533 How beautiful is the bride, Mashallah, Mashallah.
585 She has a forehead for a "perishan" (gold ornament of coins, etc.).
Her eyebrows are like braid, Mashallah, etc.
Her eyes large as coffee cups, Mashallah, etc.
Her nose is like a gold coin ("muskala").
Her cheeks like sweet cake ("gurabi," given at night by the bride
 to the bridegroom).
Her mouth is like a casket, Mashallah, etc.
Her teeth like pearls.
Her neck like a lily. Her figure is like a standard

585 sang the ladies, the men roaring: "She is, she is!" in a high falsetto, pressing their hands on their ears, and the small boys yelling "Mashallah," a strange cry at a Catholic wedding. All the time her two attendants [152] patted, straightened, and wiped the bride. My neighbour whispered to me: "They often faint." I anxiously watched her panting and swaying, and was relieved when the bridegroom left the room and the men followed. The ladies then bent the bride's knees and she plopped on to the chair. By now she was almost hypnotized, and mechanically at intervals tried to rise, but was at once replaced unless a child came in, when it was correct for her to rise for a moment. Then came midday and the wedding dinner, to which I did not stay. The bride is allowed to withdraw for a time. She does not eat with the guests. Her attendants [264] put little bits of food into her mouth. If very modest she does not take it, but when left alone secretly consumes some food she has hidden in her marriage coffer. On my return she was again enthroned. I was given three tumblers of wine and a dish of sweets and told to consume them, and did my best. I was then given a special view of all the bride's ornaments, and invited to return at night for the final ceremony. This I did not do. It was described as follows: The two attendants prepare the bed at midnight. They undress the bride and put a long silk shirt on her; lay her forcibly on the bed, and withdraw. The two male [833 witnesses then lead or drag in the bridegroom and prepare him. The 533] wedding guests all stand outside the door when the couple are left alone, and sing epithalamia of an encouraging nature and shout advice through the keyhole. The bride has to feed the bridegroom with the "gurabi" (cake) she has brought in her wedding coffer.

The company sings continually till told the marriage has been consummated. In a short time the bride and bridegroom emerge completely redressed. She wears a married woman's dress. They are greeted as man and wife and at last left in peace.

585 The whole of the next week the bride may be visited at any hour
574 of the day and must not speak a word, but sit rigid as before.

At the end of the week she has a holiday and goes back to her own people on the Sunday. On the Wednesday her husband is invited to

make acquaintance with the family into which he has married. Again 585
the party is divided into "buck-herds and doe-herds." The husband 574
enters the ladies' room and embraces all of his new female relations,
except his wife, whom modesty compels to turn away. He sups with [576]
the family and goes home alone. Next day the bride is brought back
to his house and the same pantomime of extreme reluctance is gone
through. She comes home usually in a carriage. I was told that formerly
it was etiquette for her to come on foot, but only inch by inch, so that
her return from a house round the corner might perhaps take hours.
She visits her family thus at week-ends for several months, but only
on the first occasion is a carriage and ceremony necessary.

A bridegroom, while I was in Scutari, revolted against the midnight ceremony, and turned all the guests out of his house after the feast. In spite of her assumed modesty the bride was deeply hurt at being thus deprived of publicity. She complained to her parents, who angrily asked why their daughter should have been thus insulted. Was she not good enough to show as his wife to his friends in the usual manner? Nor could they see that in this case the bridegroom's modesty had been real and not assumed.

He was in the unusual position of having a house of his own. In most 591
cases the young couple lives in the house of the bridegroom's parents 592
in the town and has a separate room. The parents rule and control
the household, and the bride is often very hard-worked. The emigrants
returned from America have brought new ideas and the system is
breaking down.

Much of the above ceremony resembles Roman practice. The distaff, the casket of household implements, the throwing of sweets, sprinkling of water, epithalamia, the *patria potestas* also.

The girls of a family must be married according to age—the eldest 582
first, and so on. The origin of this is perhaps that formerly infant
betrothals were almost universal and girls were sent to their husbands
so soon as old enough.

In Scutari, and, I believe, in the other towns, the daughters, or at
least one of them, must be married before the sons can be married.
The explanation offered was that the daughters must be dowered,
and the sons cannot marry till they have helped earn the dowries.
Over these wedding outfits the parties are very exacting. The bride- 583
groom's family bargains for every stitch of the garments and stipulates
as to their quality. While I was in Scutari a betrothed man, who had
always worn Albanian costume, went to work abroad and dressed
à la Franga. He wrote home to say he now required drawers that
could be worn under trousers, and his fiancée, who had already finished
I forget how many dozen voluminous Albanian garments, had all her

583 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian
684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he
183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. THE LEVIRATE

587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the
688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Maltsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose
[628] between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

[577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

Sometimes the brother-in-law was unmarried, but this did not help 587 matters, such marriages being prohibited by the Church. To stop the 688 practice it was usual to excommunicate not only the couple but the whole "house" which permitted it, until the "levirate wife" was dismissed. I visited, at Apripa Gurit, a house of eighteen people thus under the ban. The son, a fine young fellow, had taken his elder brother's young widow to wife one month after her husband's death: this by tribe rule is the correct time. She had been married a very short time to her first husband and had not yet borne a child. The whole household was very uneasy about the excommunication, and offered the priest in my presence first thirty and then fifty guldens and pictures and candles for the church. But they stubbornly refused to put a stop to the "levirate marriage"; it would not be honourable. The young man himself was very certain of this. It was a duty he owed to his brother, and, no matter what the consequences, he would do it. He said they had found a girl, and arranged that he should marry her in a year's time. Till then he must cohabit with his sister-in-law. This he assured me very earnestly.

At Thethi Shala I found a case of a man who had thus taken his 587 uncle's widow and his brother's widow. He then proposed taking a legitimate wife as well and had paid most of the purchase money. Only then did the bride's parents learn of the two other "wives." They said he should not have their daughter till the other two were [578 dismissed. He replied she was paid for, and was his property and 684] threatened vengeance.

The parents appealed to the padre, who sheltered them and the girl at the church-house, and succeeded in arranging a marriage for her with a man at a safe distance. The parents returned the first purchase money. "The aunt and sister-in-law" arrangement continued. The 595 padre at Thethi had routed out all polygamous arrangements in his parish but two.

He said that the people had a deep-rooted belief that it was right 587 thus to take as wife the widow of uncle, cousin, or brother if she continued 577 to live in the communal house. If this was not permitted she must be sent home to her people. They could see no alternative, and pleaded: "It is our old custom. Do not interfere with it."

In the wild and distant tribes of Nikaj, Toplana, and Berisha the 587 custom was extremely common among the Christians. Thus at Nikaj, out of three hundred houses about fifty had sister-in-law concubinage, and other houses similarly kept aunts, so a large proportion of the children were illegitimate in the eyes of the Church, but not of the people. The legitimate wives were very apt to bolt with another man, and there was much blood-feud. In Berisha I was told that the sister-in-

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. RIGHTS OF HUSBAND OVER WIFE

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the
mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

A 593 681 of the padres, being Albanian mountain men themselves, thought this right, though they admitted that the beating was sometimes cruelly severe.

M A 562 In some ways the women have more freedom than among the Montenegrins, for they are permitted to give their opinion freely on important subjects, and it is often asked, and they join in general conversation. Nor do their husbands ever apologize for their existence. In Montenegro, on the other hand, as often as not the master of the house has shouted: "Be quiet, woman," when his wife only wanted to ask some innocent question. I never heard any of Iké's views except when Krsto was out, and one was always hearing, "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head!" hurled at the women. The Albanian woman, on the other hand, would joke and chaff the men; would even, in the streets of Scutari, call their husbands out of the drink-shop and tell them they had had enough. Nor does the Albanian woman have to bow humbly and kiss the hand of every male visitor as does the Montenegrin peasant woman. Among the Dukagini I found the men would even fetch water—a thing no Montenegrin "junak" would condescend to do.

A 577 684 A curious case illustrating the rights of the husband occurred while I was in Albania. A mountain woman left her husband and came to Scutari, where she lived by prostitution among the Turkish garrison. The husband's honour was blackened, but if he killed his wife he would owe blood to her family. He therefore consulted her brother, her nearest surviving male relative. The brother agreed that his family, too, was blackened, and gave the man the cartridge wherewith to shoot her. Shot she was, and public opinion considered the husband had acted rightly and cleaned the honour of both families. I said that in such a case divorce should be permitted, but was told that so long as she was alive the family honour would still be black; a divorce would be useless.

5. MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN MONTENEGRO

M 583 In Montenegro, and all through the Serb-speaking lands, marriages were arranged by the head of the house. The young people were rarely consulted. A century ago in Montenegro infant and child betrothals were not uncommon, and the young couple did not see each other M [582] before marriage. Old Serbian ballads show that exogamy was the rule, for the hero, we are usually told, "sought his bride from afar." Such marriages were designed to strengthen the "house." We find in ballads and tales the youth who laments to his father that no wife has yet been found for him; to whom his father replies: "I have long sought

583 for one, but where I find a maiden for thee, I do not find a friend for
myself; and where I find a friend, I find no maiden."

582 When the father found a suitable "friend" (i.e. ally), the son had
to accept the arrangement. Till well into the nineteenth century boys
were commonly married at sixteen and girls as young as thirteen. I
knew a monk who said he was only fourteen years younger than his
mother. As in Albania, this system was the cause of the bulk of the
582 old blood-feuds.

177 In Montenegro, when I was there, young people were beginning to
have some freedom of choice. Child-betrothal was extinct, and the
marriage age for girls raised to sixteen. The economic conditions
684 tended to defer marriage. The suppression of the blood-feud made
628 it no longer so dangerous to seduce a man's daughter, and throughout
Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro there was much immorality. Especially
[162 in Montenegro was there a great superfluity of women, as a large
167] amount of the young male population was in America.

In truth the "chastity" of the Montenegrin, as sung by Tennyson
(who knew nothing of the country), consisted of old in the fact that
he was given a wife when very young, and that he and any of his male
relatives were liable to be shot if he tampered with any other woman.
The betrothed girl, when handed over by her parents, had to be *intacta
virgo*, and they were held responsible. Hence any lapse on the girl's
part was punished with hideous brutality by her family. Tribe law
[848] forbade the entry of any outsider into the tribe. The illegitimate child
of an outsider was of its father's blood, and the tribe would not have it.
582 The girl, moreover, being already betrothed, was the property of her
628 betrothed's family, and they would refuse to take "damaged goods,"
684 demand compensation, and a blood-feud might follow. Tales were
told of hapless girls being hunted out and left to starve; of being stripped
and tied naked to a tree on the mountain; of being stoned or beaten,
and of the child, when born, being thrown to the pigs (I heard of one
such case). Let us hope these were the exception and not the rule.

582 Up till well into the nineteenth century, in Montenegro a wedding
had to be approved not only by the respective fathers, but by their
bratstvos. The match being decided, the betrothal ("vjeridba") took place.
584 The bridegroom's father prepared a bottle of rakia with an apple (or
431 orange) on the top, in which a gold coin was stuck. The men of both
bratstvos met before the church in presence of the pope. The bride's
father brought a bottle of rakia and a bunch of flowers. He accepted
the "golden apple" in exchange for the flowers and health-drinking
took place. The betrothal was then an accepted fact. The next step
was the giving of the ring ("prstenovanje") and exchanging of gifts.
The bridegroom took no part. Again his father and two male relatives

Montenegrins EF5

went. They took with them rakia, the ring, an apple with a coin in it, 584
a bunch of sweet basil, and sometimes a piece of linen for a shirt. 431
The bride was brought in and had to look modestly on the ground and bow to the guests. The ring was given to her father, who put it on her finger. She was given the apple and gifts. Gifts were sometimes given to the other women of the house. The maiden withdrew, and the wedding-day and the number of "svatovi" (men who come to fetch the bride) was discussed. Each svat must receive a gift from the bride's family (fancy knitted socks, embroidered shirts, etc.). In old days often a small army went—a hundred or more men. In recent days twenty-five or even less was usual, to avoid the ruinous expense in food and gifts.

On the appointed day the svatovi started. The elder svat and the 585
standard-bearer, the sponsor ("kum"), and the two bride-leaders ("djeveri") were leaders of the party. The djeveri were the bridegroom's brother and a cousin or uncle. They went off singing and firing guns. The djeveri carried rakia and gave drinks to passers-by. At the bride's house a great feast took place.

Strict etiquette as to precedence, seat at table, etc., was observed, [576]
and regulation healths drunk. The Stari Svat put a large flat loaf ("pogatch") on the table. The headman of the bride's house then asked that the bread should be gilded. The Stari Svat asked: "But what do I owe you?" The bride's elder replied: "We have given you a beautiful girl and you must gild the bread." The Stari Svat then asked: "But have we then to buy her?" and the bride's elder replied: "No; we do not sell her, but by our old custom you must gild the bread." The Stari Svat then poured coins on the bread, and the loaf thus "gilded" was given to the bride's father. He was supposed to take some payment for the expenses of the gifts, etc., and to return the rest. The ceremony is obviously a reminiscence of the bride-price. The bride's elder then broke the loaf on his head, and the party set to work on the roast meats.

Then the two djeveri went into the room where the bride was
and gave her a new pair of sandals ("opanke"), which she put on. The [292
women of the house veiled her face and put a woman's belt on her [301]
(leather set with cornelians, or silver filigree). Her hair was plaited in 302]
two long tails.

Her brother had to stand guard over her all the time to see that no
one tied knots in her fringed "strukka" and thus prevented her child- [754
bearing. The djeveri came to fetch her, and the brother asked for 842]
something in exchange and was given some trifle—often a cartridge.

The djeveri took her by each arm, and after this no relation of hers
might touch her. As she left she was on no account to look backwards. [777]
If she did so her sons would be like her brothers. I was assured that this was very often the case. She was then taken off by this army of

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585 strange men. With a view to sparing her inconvenience if the journey
[262 was one or two days, I was told she was fed on hard eggs previous to
751] starting in order to produce constipation. If there was a halt at night,
she slept between the two djeveri. I met an unlucky English journalist
who thought it would be great fun to act as djever at a Montenegrin
wedding, and was highly embarrassed when he found what
was expected of him. "And the beast of a girl snored like a pig!" was
his account.

On arriving at the bridegroom's house the whole party went straight
to the church as a rule. No woman except the bride was present. The
usual Orthodox ceremony was performed. The djevers escorted the
bride from the church to her new home. The bridegroom rushed home
with the svatovi and was ready to receive her. The mother-in-law
received her at the doorway holding a male child. The bride carried
the child into the house and made him a present. It was usual to spread
[789 a carpet or skin rug at the doorway and hide weapons under it, as by
842] stepping on the weapons she was the more likely to bear a warrior.
Then feasting began. In old times it lasted three days. The bride sat
apart with the djeveri. She bowed humbly to her new relatives and
[576] kissed their hands, but did not converse. She slept at night fully clothed
between the two djeveri so long as the feast-days continued. She had
to rise early and fetch water from the well to wash their hands and
faces (all that requires washing, that is) and those of the svatovi. They
rewarded her by dropping small coins in the bowl.

When the feast-days were over the bride slept with her mother-in-law ("svekrva"), who taught her how to address all her new relatives.

The custom of sleeping with the djeveri after the marriage ceremony
was extinct when I was in Montenegro, as the marriage feasts had been
recently restricted to one day. It needs explanation, and suggests
[174] a reminiscence of earlier days when brothers shared a wife in the
communal bratstvo. There is no historic record of such a state of
things; but some old usage must lie behind so unusual a custom.

The custom of the bride sleeping with her mother-in-law still was
[577 in force. It was, in fact, considered honourable to defer the consum-
833] mation of the marriage; the longer the more honourable. I was assured
that it was even sometimes deferred for a year or more. In a large
number of the peasant houses there is no privacy. Several couples
and a lot of children all sleep in one room. The bride was coarsely
joked for being "stidna" (modest). This was the explanation offered
431 for her sleeping with the mother-in-law. About a week after marriage
585 the bride's brothers or her brother and uncle and her mother bring
her marriage coffer. The mother brings gifts for the women of the
house, and during her visit sleeps with her daughter. When the visitors

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leave they are given return gifts, such as a ham, some bread, or a bottle of rakia. Within the year the bride visits her parents for a few days.

The complete lack of any sense of what we think decency was shown 585
at the wedding of one of Krsto's bratstvo. The man had just returned 577
after two years' work in the United States and brought home about 183
£200 in gold, so was thought a millionaire. His family at once found him a bride and he spent some £30 on a gold embroidered suit of clothes for himself. He gave gold rings to his brothers and some friends, and the rakia flowed. Knowing that the family hut was little larger than Krsto's, I asked where the couple would live. "In his father's house, of course!" I said it was too small, so was taken to see that, though there were already three bedsteads in it, a fourth could be squeezed in and leave enough floor space. I said, as he was so rich, I wondered he did not build another room. All were horrified at the idea of thus wasting money. An embroidered suit and gold rings one could understand, but an extra room when you could squeeze into what you had got! So a strange young woman was duly brought to Njegushi by a gang of Krsto's male relatives, with much flag-waving, golden apples (oranges), and rakia, and they all pigged in together in the single room.

The bride has to provide a large outfit—a mass of clothes, sheets, 583
towels, stockings, etc., for herself and her husband. In old days she had to spin and weave the material as well as make the garments, and it was a common complaint that girls were no use at home, as scarce out of childhood they had to begin on their trousseau. Even after they had made it they were not sure of it. The daughter of one of the chief schoolmistresses in Cetinje married without her mother's consent (her father was dead). There was nothing against the young man, so far as I could learn. The couple had waited some time before deciding to marry without leave. I went to see the mother just after the marriage, and she told me with fiendish glee that she had sold the whole of the girl's trousseau to a neighbour. It was improper for a girl to choose for herself.

I asked some of the women I knew well about their marriages. Mitar's wife, Krsto's sister-in-law, said she was about sixteen when her parents told her she was going to be married in a week or two. She was extremely pleased. Was she not afraid of going to strangers? Oh, no. She knew both tribe and bratstvo were honourable. She was very eager to go. Her mother-in-law told her who all her new relations were. In fact, the marriage was a happy one.

The "popadija" (pope's wife)[1] was still more emphatic. She, too, had 582
been quite a girl when she heard she was to be married. They were 793
both very young, as a pope cannot be married after he is ordained.

[1] [Analyst's note - Priest's wife.]

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582 Boys destined for the priesthood were, therefore, often married when
793 thirteen, but the couple did not live together till he became a full pope.
To be wife of a pope, she explained, was the greatest luck; for as he
cannot marry again he takes great care of you. To many of these girls
it was no more surprising to be told they were to be sent to a strange
husband than for an English girl to be told she is going to school
M next term.

[538] A story to explain why a pope may not marry again was told in
Montenegro. When the patriarchs of the Church met to make marriage
laws, the men sent a petition that popes should not be allowed to
marry, so that there should be plenty of wives left for them. Four
women then came and begged that popes should be allowed to marry,
so that there should be plenty of husbands. All talked and shouted
at once. The patriarchs chose one pope and one man. Then they said:
"Now you four women, run away as fast as you can!" And when the
women had a good start they let loose the pope and the man and said:
"Run after them and catch what you can." Off they went. The man
grabbed three women and the pope only one; and so it was decided.
M No man may marry more than three times, and a pope only once.

593 Though the wives showed much devotion, often the attitude of the
562 men in these made marriages seemed very hard and unfeeling. The
woman chosen for them was too often treated without the smallest
consideration. If she broke down under harsh treatment his attitude
was that of a man who has had a broken-winded horse palmed off on
him. He had the legal right to beat her, and did so if she pleaded she
was too tired to fetch another barrel of water. She had no business to
be either ill or tired so long as his comforts needed attending to. Not
S only among the peasants, but among the *intelligentsia* one found
589 this. At Grachanitza, which was then Turkish territory, a young
765 Serbian schoolmaster came to see me, one of the many political agents
577 of the Serbian Government working for the destruction of Turkey.
He was depressed and angry, for all Europe was hailing with enthusiasm
the new Turkish Constitution; and if this were allowed to succeed,
all hopes of making Great Serbia were over. Also his work was now
very difficult, for he had no woman to work for him. His wife had
recently died in childbirth. He was wearing a black shirt, which, he said,
was not so much as mourning as to save the trouble of washing it.
S I expressed sympathy, and said it was especially sad she had died in
871 childbirth. What of the child? Oh, that was dead, too. A good thing,
for it would only have been an extra trouble. When he got the post of
S schoolmaster his father had found a wife for him. They had spent
585 a lot on the wedding and had expected she would work and make him
843 comfortable. Then when the baby was coming she was always com-

Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

S
plaining; and when it was born she was very ill. This he seemed to 585
think outrageous conduct on her part, as she should have been up 843
and at work three days afterwards. The neighbours then told him he S
must fetch a doctor from the town. He thought this absurd and at first 593
refused. He ought to have continued refusing, for when at last he did
fetch a doctor the latter only said that she was dying. So that money
was wasted, too. And then he had to pay for the funeral. For the
sufferings of the poor girl he had no pity, and, most of all, he grudged
the doctor's fee. Now he did not know how to afford another wedding.
When he began to abuse both his poor wife and her relatives, I told
him he himself had killed her with overwork and neglect. He was
angry; but as he was one of those who was educating young Serbia,
it was as well that he be shown an outside point of view.

S
In Serbia the bride-price existed till the beginning of the nineteenth 583
century, when old Karageorge abolished it because it had become so 584
high that many men could not obtain suitable wives.

In Serbia old women often acted as marriage brokers and conveyed information as to who had a marriageable daughter and what she was like, and expected a fee when a marriage was arranged. I met a life-insurance agent who dabbled in this business and was anxious to dispose of me.

S
The marriage customs of Bosnia and Serbia, though there are local M
differences, are, in the main, the same as those described for Monte- 585
negro. The bride is fetched, after a formal betrothal, by the svatovi
and djeveri.

M
Sworn Virgins.—Among the tribes of Montenegro which are of 589
Albanian origin, it appears that the custom of allowing a girl to swear 838
virginity and assume male rights and attire existed till recently. I heard
nothing of it in my time. But Medakovitch describes meeting a girl
of the Rovatz tribe in 1855 who had no brothers and "acted as son
to her father, wore men's clothes, and carried a gun on her shoulder;
smoked tobacco and was always with the men." He adds that she was
bound by a vow.

M
The Levirate in Montenegro.—As to whether the Levirate formerly 587
existed in Montenegro I could get no definite information. I suspect 595
that it did, for I frequently heard that in "the good old times" men
often had two wives and that it was allowed. Medakovitch, writing of
the 'forties, says that Montenegrins used often to have two wives, "but 771
do not now." A similar statement is made by Joseph Kermpotitch 262
in 1788 (*v.* Vladan Georgevitch, *Extracts from Vienna Archives*): 685
"Except that they keep fasts, they have no religion. They rob, steal, 595
have many wives; steal the wife of a weaker man and marry her. Some 838
sell women and girls to the Turks, and commit other unnatural vices
as one hears daily."

000 as one hears daily." Some writers have ascribed this to "Turkish
M influence." But as the custom of the Levirate was common all through
587 the neighbouring Albanian tribes and many of the Montenegrin tribes
595 are of Albanian stock, it is highly probable that at least some of these
extra wives were levirate. The custom of the djeveri sleeping with
A the bride before she is given to the bridegroom suggests that they stand
[587 in a peculiar relationship to her. In Albania the widow can be taken
595] by the eldest male relative of her deceased husband—barring his
father. In Montenegro the djeveri as a rule were the bridegroom's
next brother and his uncle. In the old ballads we very frequently find
the wife appealing to her djever brother-in-law as one whose special
duty it is to help and protect her.

M Among the oldest ballads in the Karadjitch Collection are two versions
771 of the same theme—the punishment inflicted upon a criminal land by
688 the Virgin Mary and the Saints. In the first version the land is India;
in the second it is Syrmia. In both the crimes are similar: "An accursed
land where God's religion is not; where they do not pray God's help;
where children obey not their parents; where the younger obey not
the elders; where kum (sponsor) does not keep faith with kum;
where the djever works shame to his sister-in-law; where brother drives
brother before the judges and inflicts penalties on him before the
M Turks; where they do not celebrate the saints, nor burn candles in
[776] the churches, nor read God's liturgy." The saints burnt up the land
first, and then St. Sava buried it in snow, and finally the population
returned to the paths of virtue and were pardoned. This curious tale
sounds like a reminiscence of the struggle of the Church against pagan
practices. The reference to the sin of the djever is noteworthy.

6. DIVORCE

M In Montenegro, when I was there, divorce was according to the
586 rules of the Orthodox Church, and more easily obtained by men than
[688] by women.

But within living memory a local form of divorce had existed. Against this Prince Danilo legislated in 1855 in Law 67: "Divorces between man and wife, so frequent in our land, are forbidden, except in the cases permitted by our Holy Church owing to the faults or impediments of husband or wife."

When neither party to the marriage had any choice in it, it is not surprising that ill-matched couples should have wished to part so soon as possible. Local usage forced them to marry; but local usage permitted divorce. Vladika Petar I is said to have favoured and per-

M 586 mitted it because of the frightful blood-feuds caused by fights over women who fled back to their own families or went off with other men. Parents, having once betrothed a daughter in the cradle to a youth also in the cradle, dared not refuse to carry out the bargain when the time came, even if they knew the boy infant had grown up into a bad lot. The marriage was accomplished, and the daughter encouraged to come home if she could not stand it.

M 586 842 623 If no signs of pregnancy soon occurred a man demanded divorce. Till Vladika Petar's time a woman could not sue for divorce; but by flying home and refusing cohabitation she could drive her husband to do so. The old formula was that a council of elders, at which the pope presided, having been called, the wrongs of the husband were declared and discussed. If the elders decided in his favour, a cup of wine was offered to the wife's male relatives, who drank of it and offered it to the husband, who refused to drink with them. The pope then gave one corner of the wife's apron to her father, and the other corner to the husband's father. He then drew a cord between them and declared them separated. Thus the parents who made the marriage also unmade it.

M 683 684 Vladika Petar I (1796) decreed that "He who takes a woman whose husband is living or a girl not given to him by her parents or guardians, according to the rites of religion, shall be expelled from our territory and his goods confiscated."

M [688 585] 12. "A pope who marries a man and woman when the woman has a living husband, or marries a girl forcibly captured, or a woman not permitted by religion to marry, shall be expelled both from the priesthood and from our land."

M 586 He permitted women to sue for divorce and instituted a fine of fifty thalars, which the man who had divorced his wife had to pay to her father. If the woman asked and gained the divorce, her father had to pay fifty thalars to the husband.

If there were any children, the elders usually did not grant a divorce. In case of the wife's adultery the husband obtained divorce at once and paid no damages. He could, if he pleased, cut off his wife's nose, and not infrequently did so.

ALBANIA

A 586 Among the Catholics, as elsewhere, there was no divorce. Such was the severity of the local priesthood that few persons were aware that it was possible to get a marriage annulled.

A 584 An unlucky young Scutarene was told by his parents that they had arranged for him to marry a certain girl. He had already said he wished to marry her, for he had known her as a child. During the

584 betrothal, as was customary, they were not allowed to meet, and the unfortunate man did not know till the veil was lifted in church that they had betrothed him to the girl's elder sister. He at once said, "I refuse to take her." The assembled relatives hushed him up and said he must not make a disturbance in church. He, thinking his protest was sufficient, allowed the service to finish. So soon as it was over he repudiated the girl, and said if she was taken to his home he should not return there. Nor did he. His parents kept her some time and then sent her to her own home. He returned then; but left when they again [586] sent her round. The affair was some two or three years old. All parties were greatly concerned. But I could not make them believe that Rome, if properly applied to, would certainly declare this to be no marriage.

Among the Moslems the usual form of Mohammedan divorce prevailed.

7. MARRIAGE OF AN OUTSIDER INTO A TRIBE

MONTENEGRO

619 *Outsider into the Tribe.*—There was one exception to the rule which forbade any man—an outsider—to become a member of a tribe. If a man had no sons and one or more daughters he could, with the consent of his bratstvo and tribe, import a son-in-law instead of exporting all his daughters.

This man then lived as son of the house and took the place of a son. He lost all rights in his former tribe and was a member of that which he had married into. He dropped his own family name and took that of Domazet ("dom," the house; "zet," son-in-law). His sons were Domazetovitch, a name which can still be found in Montenegro and, I believe, in Bosnia.

But the introduction of a man of another tribe was so much disliked that in marriages of this kind the domazet was, as a rule, chosen if possible from another group within the tribe that was not related by blood. Such groups existed in most of the larger tribes (*v.* Tribes).

FORBIDDEN DEGREES

In Montenegro, though the ancient strict rule of exogamy no longer held good as regards tribes according to law, yet in practice there was still a tendency to marry outside the tribe or into a quite distant group of it.

The laws of the Orthodox Church on forbidden degrees were given me by Pope Gjuro as follows:—

[p. 215— 242 blANK]

SECTION VII

MAGIC, MEDICINE, SOOTHSAYING

1. Magicians, Witches, and Vampires

In Albania many believe in witchcraft. It plays a great part in the 754
life of the people, who live in a constant state of protecting themselves from evil influences and inviting good ones. Both men and women practise magic. A witch is called "Shtriga." Illnesses and pains not caused by a wound are commonly believed to be the result of evil spells.

Shtrigas not only cause illness by spells; they suck people's blood [753]
and drain their lives slowly. Anæmia, tuberculosis, and all wasting diseases are ascribed to this. To be able to do it the shtriga takes the form of a moth or fly, and crawls into the house at night by the keyhole or a cranny.

Thus it is clear that these simple folk long ago realized that insects that fly by night cause fatal diseases, though it is but very recently that the species has been discovered by scientists. The Balkan tribesman did not think an insect unaided could work such harm and ascribed it to wicked human influence.

The shtriga can reduce herself or another person to insect size by smearing the body with an ointment which is a profound secret. Every inch of the body must be smeared or the part left will remain full-sized. In Scutari a young married woman, being pregnant, craved greatly for wine, but was too poor to buy any. Her mother-in-law, a shtriga, stripped her and smeared her so that she became small enough to pass through the keyhole of a certain cellar famed for good wine. "But do not mention the name of God till you are safely back," said the shtriga. Off flew the woman at night, entered the cellar, and drank freely, and felt so cheered and grateful that she cried: "Thank God!" At once she found herself standing naked in her usual form. "A shocking thing to happen to a respectable married woman," said my informant, who knew the parties and firmly believed the "facts." There she had to wait till next day, when the owner came to draw wine. He, good man, was astonished; but on hearing how it came about, kindly lent her clothes to go home in. "The cellar and keyhole are still there," I was told, "and prove the truth of this beyond doubt."

A shtriga, when glutted with blood, will go out in the dark and vomit it. If you can follow her undetected you must scrape up some

A
754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It
will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all
[163 Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women
761] who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but
one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was
the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So
A
[751 terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that
] they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick
A woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh
air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her
[853 knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her
777] to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The
M same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen
754 luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but
853 the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put
a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the
A child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to
755 prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither
he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air
and sunlight.

A Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony
754 Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was
755 forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away.
It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead.
The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He
A rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and
[681] denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying,
'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she
did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew
this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then
the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit
or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we
watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours
it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And
Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc is propter hoc*.

A In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied
754 round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special pre-
776 caution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black
777 cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors,
the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is
not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

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working harm to the world in general. It is interesting to find in 776
Herrick's *Hesperides* a charm for stables:— 777

Hang up hooks and shears to scare
Hence the hag that rides the mare.

The scissors, too, are among the amulets worn on a silver chain by 777
the women around Nish in Serbia. 754

Tony was proof against the Evil Eye, for he wore a powerful amulet. A similar one is used in other Balkan lands and in Hungary. A snake is caught by pinning down its head with a forked stick. The head is then cut off with silver—the sharpened edge of a large coin will do. It is then dried and enclosed between two silver St. Georges, and finally blessed by the priest. This protects against all spells. It is evidently a piece of sympathetic magic. Evil is to die as did the dragon—represented by the snake's head—slain by St. George.

Tony's wife was once bewitched and had sharp pains all over, but
could not be sure who caused this. The same evil person attempted to
bewitch Tony, but, protected by the snake's head, he only felt a few
twinges. His wife, who suffered much, was cured by a dervish, who 755
took some hair from the top of her head and from her armpits, tied it up, and burnt it while muttering some unknown charm. The pain went as the hair burnt and never came back. This and the case of the child both occurred at Djakova, at that time a wholly Albanian town.

Marko, too, was cured of similar pains. A Moslem gathered some herbs, but kept their species a secret. He fumigated them over a brazier, muttering a charm. He then tied them up, and Marko had to stand upright with his arms fully extended on either side. The Moslem put the bunch of herbs on Marko's head, drew them down the side of the face, along the arm, back to the body, and down the side of the body to the foot. He then repeated the operation on the other side, and cried: "Pain, pain, fly away from this man to the top of the highest mountain, where there is neither man, woman, nor child, bird nor beast, and stay there!" He burnt the herbs. The pain flew away and apparently remained on the mountain-top, for it never returned.

When I was in the Scutari hospital, very ill with acute sciatica, 278
poor old Marko sought in vain for the right herbs and was grieved at his failure.

Shtrigas were said to be very numerous all through North Albania. 754
At Zumi, near Djakova, I was told that perhaps one-third of the women 776
were blood-suckers; and in Nikaj was assured by the Franciscan in charge that most of the women were shtrigas, and he strove continually against the vile deeds, in which they were assisted by the Devil.

That the whole cult is the remains of ancient, long pre-Christian

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776 beliefs and rites one can hardly doubt. As is well known, the gods of the heathens became the devils of the Christians.

776 Marko was greatly afraid of Beelzebub and mentioned him with 777 a curse and a whisper. Belial and Beelzebub were supposed to be the most active. The tribesman followed the advice of his priest and put [304] a cross on his house and tattooed himself with a cross, but he further protected himself with more ancient signs; he planted the skulls of horses, goats, and oxen on poles round his house and fields. Some houses had rows of skulls. I wondered whether, in old days, human ones had figured there, too.

The horse-skull was most valued not only in Albania, but also in Bosnia and in Montenegro. Where civilization has penetrated the horse-skull was often replaced by a twisted petroleum tin whitewashed. Short-sighted devils, seeing it from a distance, could easily have mistaken it for the real thing and fought shy.

[793] Priests are but human. I found one Catholic priest had a whole array of horse- and other skulls round his beehives. He laughed it off when I remarked on it, and added that bees were very liable to disease. He evidently wanted to be on the safe side.

754 I often found in the mountains a distinct fear of being drawn, or "written," as they always called it. At Vraka I asked if I might draw the interior of a house. The woman was doubtful. She at last said I was not to "write" her or her children, and, to make sure, she drove the children out of the house. In Luria I was told not to "write" anyone or any house. At Lohja was a wonderful old man, who was reputed to be 110, who boasted that he had sinned but twice in his life—and then it was not his fault. Men in plenty he had killed, but never dishonourably or for money. The company suggested that I should "write" him. Much flattered, the old man sat still for a while, but when everyone shouted that the sketch was exactly like him, he became greatly alarmed, and earnestly begged me never to destroy what I had "written" about him, for at the moment it was torn he would drop down dead. I preserved the sketch, and five years later found him still going strong.

754 At Seltzi, in the Klimenti tribe, I was told the best way to detect 787 a shtriga is to keep the bones of the pig you ate on the last day of Carnival. All through the Balkans the pig, abhorred by Turk and Jew, is a sign of Christianity. On Easter Day you make a cross with the pig's bones and tie it on the church door when the church is full of people. If any shtrigas are in the church they cannot get out except carried on the shoulders of the man who made the cross. They run 754 wildly round and round and can be caught.

681 There was, so far as I could learn, no traditional punishment for a

witch in Albania; and though there can be no doubt that one has now 754
and then been done away with, the general idea was that it was best [681]
not to interfere lest worse should follow.

Marko strongly believed this. A woman a few doors away from us was a shtriga, and he ascribed much ill-luck to her. He avoided her as much as possible, and did not speak with her. When the autumn began to turn cold, numbers of mice that had summered in the cornfields came into the house. My room swarmed, and they ran over me at [136]
night. I told Marko to buy a trap. He seldom forgot things, and when I asked for the trap in the evening, I was surprised that he had not bought one. Again next day I asked him not to forget the mouse-trap; and again there was no trap. Then Teresi, his wife, came to me and said: "Please do not ask Marko to buy a trap; he does not want to." "But why?" She hesitated. "Marko thinks the mice are sent." "Sent?" I asked. "But who can send them?" "Marko thinks that woman—the shtriga—has sent them." I was delighted and asked: "How do people send mice?" "Marko says that with Beelzebub all things are possible." "But why should we not kill the mice?" "Because she would be angry and send something worse. Perhaps rats! Who knows?"

It was clearly impossible to trap the mice. I considered the situation, and next day asked if we might have a cat. Marko thought deeply. He then said it was natural for a cat to kill mice; we, in fact, should [136
be powerless to prevent it, and should not be responsible. The cat was 825]
obtained—a splendid mouser; and so we defeated the shtriga. It is clearly better not to incense them.

Men also are magicians, but I think not so often. A magician appeared at Nikaj when I was there. He was believed by the priest, whose guest I was, and by Marko to be so diabolical that the former ordered him to leave the parish, and neither of them would let me go out without a strong bodyguard; so I never got near him. He was famed for being able to raise many devils by dancing and wagging one leg behind him, and was believed to have come to Nikaj because most of the women were shtrigas.

A magician in Albanian is "maghistar" or "menghistar." Magic is "maghi" or "menghi"; "menghi" is also a remedy. In early days medicine and magic were one and the same. The words appear to be derived from, or connected with, "magus." The wise man of old used spells just as did the "wise woman" of the English village.

A strange tale which all believed was told of such a man who had worked much harm with magic in the Djakova district. One of the local beys, therefore, arrested him and locked him up. When he had been some time imprisoned the bey was one day entertaining guests on a feast day. The party was dull, and someone asked where that magician

754 was who used to do wonders. The bey thought it a good idea, and the man was fetched from his cell. He was very willing to perform, and asked only for a bowl of water. One was brought, and he made an
[787] incantation over it. He then said that if any guest would name a place he wished to see, it could be seen in the water. Someone asked for Malta, and Malta was duly reflected; the harbour, the quay, and a steamer just getting up steam. When it had been admired, the magician asked the bey: "Have I your permission, noble Bey, to go off in that steamer?"

"Certainly," said the bey.

The magician lifted his foot and put it on the steamer in the water-bowl, and immediately went off in that steamer and was never heard of again. No one but myself could see anything improbable in this amazing tale; with Beelzebub all things are possible.

2. THE EVIL EYE

754
761 The Evil Eye was rampant. At Vukli an unhappy woman told me it had killed all her eight children. A man there, to prove the power of his eye, had stared at a bunch of grapes, which had withered under his gaze and fallen to the ground before the awe-struck spectators. I did not meet this man.

754 Marko had a milch ewe he greatly valued. One day a mountain woman came to the door begging. He gave her bread, but she was not satisfied, and as she left she looked at the poor beast, which was perfectly well, and said: "What a fine ewe!" Soon afterwards it began to sicken. Marko sent for the vet., who said at once: "I can do nothing—someone has looked at this ewe. You must find her and make her remove the spell." She could not be found and the ewe died. Marko cut her up for mutton. I expressed horror. "The meat," said he, "is beautiful. There was nothing the matter with the ewe except a lot of yellow spots in its liver, made by that woman."

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777 *Protection against Evil Eye.*—Many amulets are worn. Most horses and many cattle wear blue beads (sham turquoise), tufts of badger-hair, which is said to be very efficacious, or triangular leather cases containing inscriptions. A universal protection, as in many other parts of the world, is a horn or horns. Though the horse-skull is now popular to guard fields and houses, the original skull was probably a horned one, e.g. the familiar ox-skull carved on the frieze of many a classical and pseudo-classical building. A pair of boar's tusks, mounted as a crescent and hung round the neck, is a favourite amulet for a handsome
[776] saddle-horse. It prevents evil spirits riding the horse at night and

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[776]

prevents stumbling. A man I knew galloped for his life across the long, narrow, and slippery bridge at Djakova while some six others were firing at him. Usually one would have led the horse across. But horse and rider escaped unscathed. The former wore a fine pair of boar's tusks and the latter a piece of a meteorite, a good protection against bullets. One Albanian I knew wore a piece of meteorite continually in London and was never once shot at.

A small brass imitation of the boar's tusk amulet formed part of the headstall of the Turkish gendarmerie horse-trappings. I possess a charming little crescent formed of a pair of falcon's talons which I bought of a Maltsori woman who said it was a great "ilatch" (remedy).

As a single horn, a wolf's fang, a cock's spur, a crab's claw are all good. Of a Vlah at Prishtina I bought a dried mole's paw set in silver, especially recommended to keep a child in health. It is a miniature "Fatima Hand."

Another highly valued object in Albania was a "stone snail" (ammonite). Baron Nopcsa, when geologizing, tried to remove a big ammonite, conspicuous on a wayside rock in the mountains. The quarrying of it out was too difficult and he left it; but the stone snail was chipped in the attempt. Marko, who had great faith in stone snails, lamented this much. It was discussed in the mountains and folk agreed it was lucky it was no worse. God alone knew what might have happened had the stone snail been removed.

The cowrie is a potent defence, but is rare in North Albania, so not more than one or two per person are worn, usually round the neck or sewn to the cap—except by the women of Vraka, who always wear two, one on each side of the face, sewn to the hair-plait. The cowrie is worn by women and children, but not, so far as I have seen, by men.

Though the natural cowrie is scarce, cowrie-land being afar, a large number, if not all, of the silver circular pendants, common all through the west side of the Balkan peninsula, are clearly derived from the cowrie, as Fig. 19 shows. In the older examples the cowrie type is evident. Two wriggly lines imitate the lip of the shell and a round hole the end aperture. In modern specimens sometimes this hole is all that is left; the cowrie is forgotten. In some the shape of the cowrie is preserved, and filigree replaces the wriggly line of the shell lip. In others the circle evolves into a crescent, as the plate shows. It seems possible that the pear-shaped pendant, so common on Near-Eastern, African, and Asiatic ornaments, is, in fact, derived from the cowrie (e.g. Fig. 19, No. 4*a*).

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The cock is very powerful against evil spirits, who "vanish at the crowing." A cock appears on each side of the ornamental head-band worn until recently by the Herzegovinian women round their caps.

Y 776

777 Glass "turquoises" made the head-band yet more protective. Small cocks are still made as heads of pins to fasten the head-dress to the hair in the Herzegovina. Y 777

172 In the prehistoric graves at Glasinatz in Bosnia, tiny bronze amulets, shaped like doves, have been found. In North Albania three wooden

A 764 777 301 M [301]

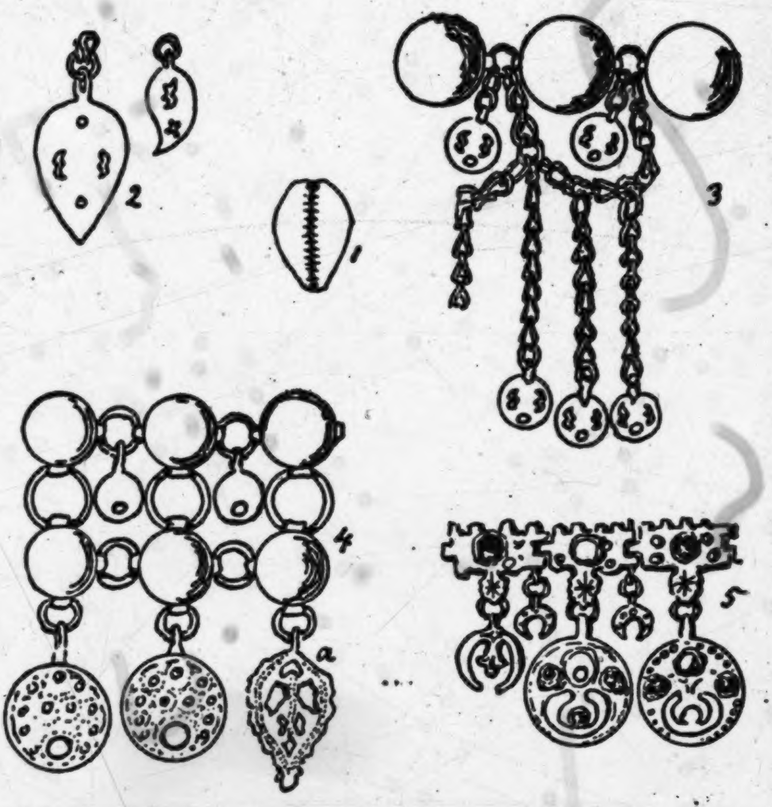

FIG. 19—SPECIMENS SHOWING EVOLUTION OF ORNAMENT FROM COWRY

1. Natural cowry. 2. Pendant common in North Albania. 3. Necklace from Kolashin, Montenegro (old specimen). 4. Breast ornament from Nikaj, North Albania (modern). 5. Old necklace, Scutari.

A [531] doves perch on many a wooden grave-cross. Especially good examples are at Boga. A dove forms part of the decorative design worked on the scarlet cloak worn by the Catholic married women of Scutari, as A 142 171 does also the serpent. My repeated inquiries failed to find any explanation of this dove. "It must be some old tale which we have forgotten," was the reply of the embroiderers. The Glasinatz amulets from ancient

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1

pre-Christian and pre-Slav days show the tale to have been, indeed, A 142
so old as to justify its being forgotten. The dove appears, too, on a pair 171
of silver earrings I have from Mirdita.

Many of the Hallstadt period bronze ornaments, notably a number of tiny pendants in the form of buckets, cups, jugs, crosses, and animals,
found at Prozor in Croatia (Kunst Histor. Museum, Vienna, Room S
XIII, 31), are extraordinarily like the strings of little household and [301]
other articles which dangle from a silver chain hooked to either side of the head-dress of the women of Nish in Serbia. Shoes, scissors, ploughs, plates, hammers, hatchets, hoes, pistols, the war-club ("buzdovan"), and sword are mixed with frogs, hares, and cocks. The cross, the ladder, and the paten usually hang in the middle, thus bringing the ornament into Christian times as the pistol does into "civilized ones." This curious chain hangs under the chin. It was still being made by the local silversmiths in 1902 and much worn. I had seen nothing like it anywhere else till I found, in the Kunst Hist. Museum in Vienna, a sumptuous gold chain a yard long, found in 1797 at Szilagy Somlyo in Hungary, along with fifteen big gold medals of Roman emperors set in gold frames—three of Maximianus, seven of Valens, one of Valentinianus, one of Constantine the Great, two of Constantius, and one of Gratianus. Thus from A.D. 284 to A.D. 383. The official catalogue describes it; "The principal object is the chain (No. 290), with models of implements of all sorts." I found ox-yoke, ladder, adze, several hammers, trident, straight sword, shield, war-club, pincers, tongs, scissors, ploughshare, axe, curved sword, reaping-hook, spear-heads, and an outstretched hand. In the centre hangs a ball of topaz, on which stands a golden vase on which two lions set their paws. Above the ball and attached to the chain is a curious dugout canoe in which a man with an oar sits. The whole is beautifully worked in solid gold and is very magnificent—the lordly ancestor of the peasant ornament still made in inferior silver at Nish.

The twisted chain-link is the same; so are the bulk of the implements—and nothing resembling this chain of implements have I found elsewhere. Did the Hallstadt folk of Prozor wear those little bronze pots and vases on a chain? For whom and when was the golden chain of Somlyo wrought? And why do the smiths of Nish still imitate it? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In Bosnia very elaborate head-dresses were, till recently, worn by Y 777
women with plumes of coloured grasses, peacock's feathers, beads, 754
coins, and dingle-dangles, all designed to attract the Evil Eye away from the wearer. Perhaps the subtlest way is to wear a small looking-glass, for the Evil Eye then throws its evil glance upon itself. Best of all was to wear the glass at the back of the head on the headkerchief,

777 754 and catch it there, thus literally "saving your face," as did the women of Konjitza in Bosnia.

A 753 754 777 Illness being very largely ascribed to Evil Eye or magic, amulets in Albania are usually called "derman" or "ilatch," both of which words also mean remedy.

A 755 *Sympathetic Magic.*—In this the disease is supposed to act in accord with some object or other and disappears as it does.

A cure for jaundice was thus performed by a Moslem wise man on the child of a Scutari Christian. He tied some red wool round the child and some yellow wool round a red rose in the garden. He ordered the red to go out of the rose into the child, and the yellow to go out of the child into the rose. In a few days the rose wilted and yellowed and the child recovered its rosy cheeks. The efficacy of the cure was undoubted.

Marko had another he thought better, because it could be carried out at any time of year. You put a small fish in a bucket of water. The patient had to stare at it as it swam round and round. If he stared at it long and steadily enough, the disease went out of the patient into the fish, which died.

A [722 164] In 1912–13, owing to the Albanian Revolution and the Balkan wars, large numbers of the mountain tribesmen who pasture their beasts on the Bojana plains in winter were unable to return to the mountains, and were blocked in the malaria swamps all the summer, with terrible consequences. Almost all were struck down with a virulent form of the disease. I went through the worst districts with a load of quinine, and found the people trying to cure their greatly enlarged spleens by slowly roasting the spleen of a sheep at a fire, and muttering spells which ordered their own spleens to diminish as that of the sheep shrivelled at the fire.

A 164 776 753 A [755] Epilepsy was not uncommon in the mountains. It was looked upon as a possession by evil spirits. I once saw a woman fall down suddenly in a fit. Some men at once rushed up and, telling me to get out of the way, fired their revolvers alongside of her head. This was to scare away the evil spirit. As she soon recovered, they believed they had done so. I once saved a woman under similar circumstances from being flogged. Luckily she recovered quickly. But it is not so very long ago that lunatics were flogged in England.

A 777 755 Marko knew of a certain cure for epilepsy, but difficult to obtain. If you see a snake swallowing a frog, you must throw a black handkerchief over it. This scares the snake and it disgorges the frog. Keep the handkerchief, and when someone falls in a fit, throw it over him. He will then disgorge the disease as the snake did the frog. We kept a careful look-out, on our travels, for a snake eating a frog, but we never found one.

Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

A
Disease as a rule is attributed to evil spirits. I met with one notable 753
exception. It was at the Serb monastery of Dechani. The dead body of a 776
man had, some years previously, been found on a lonely track in the neigh- S
bourhood; there was no wound of any kind upon him. His death was 688
a complete mystery, till a search showed that he had secreted on his 761
person some small objects of value, stolen from the church. It was
then clear to all that he had been struck dead by the Holy Mother of
God. It is of interest to note that in an early Montenegrin ballad M
(Vuk Karadjitch, vol. i) the Holy Virgin figures as "Fiery Maria"; she 776
is the sender of lightning and St. Elijah is the thunderer. Together with 688
some other saints they scatter death over the land to cure the people of 761
impious ways. Here, no doubt, we have pagan gods masquerading in
Christian garb.

Sympathetic Magic in Montenegro.—In the Tzrmnitza valley I was M
told of a cure for hernia, performed by "wise women." The operator 755
expected a fee of about twopence and the gift of a cheese or some eggs. She must know the exact name and bratstvo of the patient, but his presence was not necessary. She put some freshly drawn water in a long-necked jug ("ibrik") and set it to boil on the fire, saying: "Water, I call on you three times from heaven to earth—let the bowel of Mr. X return to its place." She crossed the water three times. When it boiled she poured it quickly into a shallow metal dish, repeating the above words, and turned the ibrik mouth downwards into the water. As the ibrik cooled a certain amount of the water would rise up into its neck. The more the luckier—for in such way should the bowel of Mr. X return to its place. The charm is repeated daily till relief is experienced. A fresh fee is exacted each time. I was told that five or six women in Gluhidol practised this art, and that Montenegrins
afflicted abroad would write home to have the charm performed. A

M
In Montenegro and in Albania an infallible cure for a scorpion-bite 755
was oil in which scorpions had been soaked in the sun. Marko always
had a bottle full of them in the window.

Near Njegushi, Krsto showed me a perforated rock through which children had been passed to cure them of disease. This had been done especially at the time of the cholera epidemic in 1860. Old Mitar, Krsto's brother, remembered this well, and said that they had also tried placing people in the middle of a field and ploughing round them to isolate them from the disease, but, he added sadly, it had not done much good.

M
In the Tzrmnitza valley I learnt that a similar protection against 755
cattle plague had been practised till recently. On news coming that 231
cattle plague was in the neighbourhood, all were ordered to gather
their beasts in a field. Two pairs of oxen were selected which must be

Balkan Peoples E13 Montenegrins EF5
Bulgaria EE1
Serbs EF6

M 755 231 brothers and not yet have begotten a calf. Two youths were also chosen, also brothers who had not yet begotten a child. The oxen were yoked to ploughs. The ploughs were started from opposite sides of the field. When one plough reached the spot whence the other had started and a complete furrow surrounded the herd of beasts, the assembled peasants fired their guns over the herd and each drove his own home. The ceremony was called "oborivanje" (ploughing round).

M 777 842 Under magic, too, one may class various beliefs about pregnancy. A pregnant woman must not see a snake or the child will be marked like one. She must not see or hear a sheep being slaughtered or the child will snore; must not eat the meat of a cow in calf, or a lump will grow under the child's neck.

A pregnant woman can learn what will be the sex of her child by throwing a piece of dried fish-roe into the fire. If it goes off "pop, pop," there will be a boy; if it fizzles out miserably, a girl.

Should she crave for anything during pregnancy she must beware of touching herself with her hand, for should she crave wine and touch her face, the child will be marked on this spot with a red stain; or milk, and it will be marked with white. Patches of white hair are said to be thus produced. If she craves pig meat, the child will grow bristles on the spot touched. These are all attempts to explain personal peculiarities, and similar beliefs prevail still even in England.

If anyone jumps over a child in a cradle, the child will be stunted. The cradle must be jealously watched. This is reason rather than magic, for if the cradle be kicked over by a careless jumper, injury to the spine might well result. The belief that the jump causes the evil is a protective belief for the child.

It is not easy to say where magic ends and medicine begins. Those who sought the help of a European doctor took care to supplement his treatment with amulets and charms—just as English patients will go on taking someone's patent mixture, warranted to cure everything, and follow a doctor's prescription at the same time.

Bul 777 755 When looking after wounded Bulgars at Ochrida in 1904 I noticed that a wounded child wore round his neck an antique Greek silver coin—a rather fine specimen. I asked the child's mother to sell it to me. She said she must ask leave. When she next appeared she had asked consent of the grandmother, and it was not to be sold. As a great favour it had been lent for this child to wear. It had been many generations in the family and had cured countless persons. As a matter of curiosity I asked what price it was valued at, and received the reply, "Not all the gold in the world could buy it"—which settled the matter.

A S BP 777 All through the Balkans great value is set on written amulets. The Moslems write sentences from the Koran, the Christians from the

598 house of a relative of his to live there till the marriage was arranged
and declared herself a Mohammedan. As she was not of age, her parents
appealed to the archbishop, who intervened, and she was sent home.
Then, to save her from Turkish influence, she was sent to friends at
Podgoritza. Here she obstinately declared that she wished to be Moslem
777 till those in charge of her saw that she wore a Turkish amulet round
her neck. They cut the string and threw the thing in the fire. Scarcely
had it burnt up when she at once became Christian again. So ended her
poor little romance, and I was told it was unlikely she would ever
find a good husband owing to this fatal infatuation. Marko considered
it, indeed, a mercy that the evil amulet had been discovered, and was
horrified when I said I was sorry for her.

776 *Evil Spirits.*—In addition to witches and magicians in Albania there are many mischievous spirits. These are the "ore," a word which an Albanian often translates as "devil." The ore, however, are not the ordinary devils known to Christianity; they are relics of some pre-Christian beliefs, and are usually seen at night as fiery sparks, and delight to prevent a traveller from proceeding by circling round him and confusing him completely. Once, when starting from Scutari to Djakova, Tony Precha was thus stopped on the way. There is but one thing to be done, and that is to wait till the first cock crows, when they vanish at once.

Another delight of theirs is to ride horses at night and knot their manes. These knots should on no account be untied. The ore also guard hidden treasure, and by confusing the seeker prevent him from finding it.

The ore were generally believed to be females.

776 Much magic surrounds hidden treasure. Throughout the Balkans
777 there is a belief in masses of treasure hidden in ancient days. The hider
789 consigned it to the care of the earth "amanet," which may deliver it
up only if certain formulæ are observed. A person ignorant of these
formulæ may dig on the right spot and find nothing but sticks and
stones. An example given me in the mountains was that of a man
who buried some money at the foot of a tree, at the same time bidding
the earth not to give it up till two mice had drawn a carriage round
the tree. Unfortunately a man passing by heard this. He returned
home, caught two mice, tamed them, and with some trouble harnessed
them to a tiny box. He then returned to the tree, drove the mouse-chariot round it, dug on the spot, and found the money. I suggested
that he might have done so without troubling to catch and train the
mice, but was assured it was impossible. The earth would not have
yielded that which had been consigned to it. Much time and ingenuity
is spent over the search for treasure. It has led to the destruction of

much probably valuable material, for when many an ancient grave has 776
been opened and nothing but pottery and bits of bronze or iron found, 777
the treasure-seekers, enraged that the gold should have thus been 789
turned to rubbish because they did not know the formula, have smashed
it all into small fragments.

One way to find treasure is to spread a layer of wood-ash over the 777
spot where it is believed to lie. Next morning, if it bears the footprint 782
of any bird or beast—a fox, sheep, etc.—such a creature must be sacrificed upon the spot. A black animal or bird with no touch of white on it is particularly efficacious.

In many places I had to declare to the headmen that I had not come to search for treasure.

Those good days are past. Albania is now being searched for petroleum, and, unless the kindly earth refuses to give it up, the land will be devoured by foreign speculators.

I was once taken a weary tramp in Berisha to see and explain a 777
marvel. On a great mass of rock was a slight hollow into which a man's 789
hand would fit, and near it a depression that was supposed to be like a mule's hoof-print. Both were natural weatherings of the rock. But the native theory was that ages ago, when the rock was soft, a man had hidden a treasure and made the rock flow over it. He had then marked the spot with his hand and the hoof-mark of his beast. Unless the right formula could be obtained there was nothing for it but to quarry and blast the huge mass, and without the formula even this might not avail. I vainly said the marks meant nothing. My excited escort would not let me leave till I had "written" (i.e. drawn) the marks, and promised that if learned men in England could explain them I would return and show them how to find the treasure.

"Hoof-marks" are favourite things in the Balkans. One was shown
me on the shores of Lake Presba and ascribed to Sharatz, the magic
horse of Marko Kralyevitch; and in a cave on the slopes of the Lovchen
in Montenegro I was shown, as a great marvel, a small roundish
depression—a hoof-mark, also "made when the rock was soft." Krsto
thought it possible that Marko Kralyevitch had once stabled Sharatz
here, and several people asked my opinion about it. In the long weary [517]
hours, when watching goats on the mountains, men ponder over such
trifles and build fancies upon them. Weary and weary are those endless
hours. I never met anyone who did not speak with hate of the watching
of beasts he had had to do when young. Often was I asked to build
a factory where a man would be given enough bread for a day's labour
and no longer have to watch goats on the mountain. The foreigner
is now starting works; I doubt if they bring the expected happiness. 777

In the hill-side on the left of the road from Djakova to Prizren I 772

A 777 772 [776] was told there is a magic cave which contains an ancient city. No living being is in it, but the bazaar is full of every fine fruit, flesh, and garment. Few have reached it, for it is guarded by the "ore." One man wandered in, and was untouched till he tried to pick up something in the bazaar. Fiery serpents darted at him, his torch went out, and with great difficulty he reached the entrance, where he was found unconscious. Poisonous gases are, no doubt, the explanation. No one would undertake to guide me to the place.

3. WITCHES AND MAGIC IN MONTENEGRO

M 754 Witches in Montenegro ~~and all~~ Serb-speaking lands are called "vjeshtitza." I was assured that they used to exist but did not now; but in fact they were still believed in. Here as in Albania it was believed that a witch could enter a house in the form of an insect and suck blood. Iké always hastened to kill a moth which entered the hut, and remarked that they did no good; and I have heard "Perhaps it is a vjeshtitza" murmured. Witches could sail upon water in the shell of an egg eaten on the 1st of March. Iké always smashed all egg-shells at once, saying it was best to do so, but gave no reason. Many people in England habitually smash their egg-shells—a custom probably handed down from days when a similar belief existed.

M [681] Witches, I was told, were stoned to death in old days if they were known to have killed anyone. As in many other lands, the test for a witch was to bind her and throw her into water. If she floated, she was a witch. This had happened, I was told, within the recollection of still-living persons. Medakovitch, writing of the eighteen-fifties, says that a blood-feud was caused by a fight, in which four men were killed, which arose over an attempt to duck a woman of the Raitchevitches.

M [593 843] While I was in Montenegro it was still the duty of the bride's brothers to guard her till the svatovi fetched her, lest some evil person should tie a knot in the fringes of her "strukka" (straight shawl, worn like a plaid)—for, if so, she would miscarry or bear a deformed child. Many knots would make delivery impossible.

M 791 I never heard a witch openly referred to, but there was talk of mysterious women "who knew many things." These supplied drugs and charms to ease labour and cause the childless to bear.

M 789 But I did not learn how these spells were made. In Serbia are still rites carried out which necessitate that the witch shall stand stark-naked under a tree at night. This suggests the holy trees and groves of old Slavonic beliefs.

M 278 789 A favourite medium for making magic ointment, I was told, is wax

Montenegrins EF5
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

M
dropped from church candles. As these droppings are regarded by the 278 pope as his perquisite, they are hard to get. 789

In his Canon of 1349, Stefan Dushan legislated against magic. M Law 109: "Magicians and poisoners caught in the act shall be punished 754 as directed by the Holy Fathers." 687 This is said to refer to Byzantine Church law. It is of interest to find the mysterious action of poison classed with magic.

Dushan's efforts were vain, for as late as 1905 we find Vladan Georgevitch, in his *Last of a Dynasty*, ascribes to magic the influence of Draga over the unlucky young King Alexander Obrenovitch. "Do you not know," said Rista Bademlitch (Councillor of State), "that she has made him so foolish with all kinds of love-potions that he stands for hours under her window begging to be let in."

M
Vampires.—I found belief in vampires in Montenegro, where they 754 are called "tenatz." To become a vampire is "potentziti se." The 775 vampire is a dead man or woman who rises from the grave and works evil at night. A corpse must be carefully watched, for if a cat leaps M over it, it surely becomes a vampire. I was told there had been recent [764] cases where death had been caused by vampires. Their deeds seem to be confused with those of the witch ("vjeshtitza"), for both are said to suck blood.

A strange tale was current in the Tzrmnitza valley. A young man M loved a girl, but her parents, as is customary, had already betrothed 755 her, and she was forced against her will to marry her betrothed. Her lover left Montenegro in despair and died abroad. After his death he returned home as a vampire and visited the woman at night. Much frightened, she told some of her neighbours. She bore a child by the vampire, which Krsto, who knew it, assured me earnestly was so exactly like the deceased man that its paternity could not be doubted; and as the man died abroad it was impossible to lay the vampire and stop his visits. A corpse suspected of being a vampire can be prevented from rising by transfixing it with a stake, preferably whitethorn. A pope must assist at the ceremony; or the corpse may be exhumed and lifted from the grave by means of whitethorn poles and then burnt; or it M may be hamstrung. A way to detect whether a corpse is a vampire [787] is to try to lead a black foal with no white hair on it over the grave. If the foal refuses, this is a sign that the corpse is a vampire. Stefan Dushan, in Law 20 of his Code, refers thus to this practice: "If for M magical purposes men are taken from the grave and burnt, the village where this takes place shall be fined and the pope who has assisted [688] shall be unfrocked." The law failed; the ceremony is not yet dead. Y

In Bosnia I found much belief in vampires, here called "lampir" 775 or "vukodlak" (lit., wolf's hair)—a word which suggests the werewolf.

Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

Y Several local Austrian governors told me that in the early years of
775 the Austrian occupation the burning of lampirs' bodies was frequent.
761 The Government forbade and suppressed the practice and caused
much discontent. A recent case (told me in 1906) was caused by an
outbreak of enteric at Vlasenitza. A young man died. His wife sickened
and vowed that her husband had returned at night and sucked her
blood. The terrified villagers wanted to dig up and burn his body.
The authorities forbade it. The lampir was then seen and heard by
many persons whose blood he sucked. Fifteen persons died. It would
be interesting to know how many died of enteric, and how many because
A they believed they were doomed to die by the lampir.

CM The peasants all through Albania and Macedonia I found to be
761 extraordinarily affected mentally if convinced they must die. They
would then make no effort to live, but simply "lie down and die."

A In Albania I heard of several cases in which a man's death being
761 foretold by "reading it in a bone," he proceeded forthwith to sicken
787 and die; and there seemed no reason to doubt the truth of this.

I have often seen a patient refuse all food under the belief that he would die in a week, and have resuscitated many who were very far gone by forcibly pouring egg and brandy into them. The result of the pick-me-up was sometimes comically quick. After an hour the patient would ask for another and decide to live. Without it he would certainly have died, as all the family continually said: "You are dying,"
A and did not try to make him eat.

761 Belief in the fatal visit of a lampir has, no doubt, caused death.

775 Since the civilizing power of Austria has been removed a fresh
instance of corpse-burning has been reported from Bosnia.

M *Vilas.*—Last but not least the "vila," a female spirit which haunts
776 the mountains, is very capricious, and works much evil as well as
[177] some good. In Montenegro I was told vilas used to be plentiful, but
had been driven away by the advent of artillery. Maybe some still
haunted the deep limestone caverns.

M Of old, vilas sometimes swore sisterhood with mortals, and even
[761] married them. But they were excessively jealous, and when a handsome
youth wished to marry they were apt to kill the bride.

Krsto told me a tale "that happened a long time ago in Montenegro." A vila disguised herself as a beautiful maiden and caused two brothers to fall in love with her. She urged them to fight each other and promised herself to the conqueror. They fought and one was killed. The vila
M then laughed and flew away. The unhappy survivor killed himself.

Y I asked how, as both were dead, it was known that the vila had
776 caused the trouble. Krsto merely replied it was a fact well known to all.

787 But the sympathies of the vilas were Slavonic, for till recent times

Y M 776 787

they warned both Serbs and Montenegrins of the approach of the Turks, and saved Serb heroes by covering them with mist and hiding them from the foe.

Y M 776 533

Some examples from the ballads show the character of vilas in "pre-artillery" days (Karadjitch Collection, vol. ii, No. 37). Marko Kralyevitch and Voyvoda Milosh ride over the mountains. Marko asks Milosh to sing to him. Milosh replies that last night he drank wine with the Vila Ravijojla and she forbade him to sing. Urged by Marko, Milosh sang. The vila tried to out-sing him, but Milosh had the finer voice, so the infuriated vila shot him in the throat with an arrow and he was like to die. Marko pursued her furiously on his horse, Sharatz. The vila flew up into the air. Marko hurled his war-club and brought her down, and threatened to smash her if she would not cure Milosh.

The vila then called on him for sisterhood in the name of God and St. John, and promised to cure Milosh if he released her. He did so; she gathered herbs and made Milosh far stronger than before. The ballad ends by her advising the other vilas not to shoot at heroes when Marko is about. On several occasions afterwards she helps her "pobratim," Marko. The mediæval ballad-maker has depicted a wine-swilling, revengeful, and murderous fairy who suits her savage environment.

M Y [585 587]

Jealousy and cruelty are seen in the *Death of the two Dragitchitches* (*op. cit.*, vol. i). Dragitch is about to celebrate a great festival. He is giving his daughter in marriage and marrying his two sons. His wife dreams that two ravens, with their wings bloody to the root, bring a black letter in their claws. She prays her husband to be satisfied with marrying their daughter and to put off the sons' wedding for a week. He refuses, and the train of groomsmen and the two bridegrooms ride off on fine horses. But the vilas watch them unseen and from behind the trees shoot their arrows. At midday a halt is called, and then only are the two young men missed. The father remembers the dream, and goes in search of them in fear: "By the side of the path he found his two sons. The accursed vilas had shot them. Dragitch cried out as doth a fierce serpent . . . then he drew his bright sword and cut off his sons' heads and put them in his saddle-bags. And he moved their bodies from the blood-stained path and covered them with leaves, saying: 'Farewell, my two sons, this day have I wedded ye.' " He carries home the heads, and tells his wife that he has brought her two golden apples as a gift. And the cursed vilas thank God (an odd thing for them to do) for the woe they have caused.

A M 776 [787]

The phrase "beautiful as a vila" is in constant use in Montenegro, and in recent ballads the vila still warns Montenegro against invasion.

I once rode up-country on a handsome white stallion, which belonged

776 to my faithful Albanian horseboy, Shan, who had lived all his life in Montenegro. The horse was turned out to graze at night. Next morning, before mounting, I began to comb out its tangled mane with my fingers. Shan anxiously begged me not to. The vilas, he said, had been making love to it all night because it was a beauty. It had been covered with sweat. If I untied the knots the vilas had made we should have an accident. Shan, being an Albanian, probably meant the "ore" when he said "vila." I heard of no other case of a vila acting thus. But the ore are notorious for such conduct.

A M 777 773 887 *Hidden Treasure.*—As in Albania, so all through Montenegro and the Herzegovina, and probably in other Balkan lands, it is believed that mighty treasures lie hidden. The treasure of the Royal Nemanjas has yet to be found, and that of Voyvoda Momchilo at Pirlitor.

Opinions differ as to the best means of treasure-hunting. The most certain thing is when the site of the treasure is revealed in a dream; you are then sure to find it. If a steer that is perfectly black stands still on a spot, bellows, and butts his horns into the ground, there is almost surely treasure beneath. But there must not be a single white hair on the steer. If when the third cock crows in the morning a number are seen gathered together holding council, there is surely treasure beneath the spot.

Vuk Vrchevitch gives a good account of treasure-seeking in the Herzegovina. A certain man dreamed of hidden treasure. Early before the sun rose he went with some of his brethren in search of it, and took with him a black cock and a black wether. Arrived at the spot, he killed the wether and made a circle of blood round the site. They began to dig, and after a while reached a slab of stone. On this the black cock was sacrificed. They were now so near success that one of the brethren cried aloud: "God help us now and for ever." But God's name must not be invoked in aid of magic. When they raised the slab they found, indeed, a stone box—but the treasure had been turned to ashes.

Some poisoned water should be carried when treasure-hunting to kill the serpent which often guards it.

If a black stallion is led to the spot where treasure is suspected to lie and refuses to walk over it, it shows treasure is, or was, there. The foundation for these tales is the large number of Roman and prehistoric graves that have been opened. The ashes and fragments of iron and bronze found in them were ascribed to the fact that a wrong spell had been used and the treasure transmuted to something valueless —in the eyes of the searchers.

A 777 787 *A Magic Plant.*—In Albania I was told there grows a most valuable plant. Any stone or iron touched by a leaf of it at once falls to pieces. To persons thievishly inclined it is extremely useful. The difficulty is

to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, 777
search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone 737
wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs 771
and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part 174
of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. SOME BALKAN REMEDIES. MEDICINE AND SURGERY IN ALBANIA

278
Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine 755
are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal 759
lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all 755
Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

755 indicates that the first professional doctors inland were Turkish.
759 Previous to the Turkish conquest, when the Serbian Empire was at
its height, it is clear that there were no Serbian doctors of repute, for
S the archives of Ragusa and Venice contain letters asking that the
759 medical man of one or other of the coast towns may be allowed to
182 leave his post temporarily in order to visit an ailing Serbian magnate,
and the ballads sometimes say of a sorely wounded hero: "Shall we
send for a doctor from the coast?"

S The Serbian for doctor is "ljechnik," from "ljechiti" (to heal). This
S derives from Teutonic, and is akin to our old word "leech." The word
A "doktor" also is used. The professional doctor was evidently a foreigner.
755 Magic was probably the oldest Balkan remedy for disease. Disease is
an inexplicable mystery which demands a mystery to combat it. Wounds,
on the contrary, are shrouded in no mystery and demand different
treatment.

HERBAL REMEDIES IN ALBANIA

A *For Sciatica.*—(1) The limb is beaten with stinging-nettles till blistered
757 —a counter-irritant. I refused to allow this to be tried on me, though a
278 neighbour vowed it had cured her. (2) The limb is rubbed with a paste
of roasted onions boiled in oil. This in the form of gentle massage gave
M some relief.

CM Pounded onions are commonly used for dressing contusions where
A the skin is broken in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and appear
[757] to have a soothing effect. Such a dressing at least prevents dirty clothing
from rubbing the wound and, by keeping it clean, assists healing.

A great variety of herbs and leaves are valued as "cures" when parboiled, and applied hot to sprains, contusions, abscesses, boils, etc. In most, if not all, cases it is the hot fomentation, frequently renewed, which does the cure, rather than the particular herb. Thus at Berisha they fomented Marko's sprained ankle with ferns (*Ceterach* and *Trichomanes nigra*) boiled with wild peppermint, taking much trouble to search for and find the right kinds. Boiled walnut leaves are also believed in.

For Weak Eyes.—Pound up wall pellitory, squeeze out the juice and mix with salt. To be dropped twice a day into the eye. Maximum dose, three drops.

For a Cough.—Oil in which some tortoise flesh has been boiled; or a decoction of wild-sage leaves boiled with honey.

The leaves of the wild sage dried and made into "tea" make a very pleasant drink used in Montenegro and Albania.

Tuberculosis.—This disease, in all its forms, ravages the Balkans.

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

The favourite remedy in Scutari for the pulmonary form was a drink 757 made of the root of "bader" (*Iris Dalmatica*), which grows wild 278 plentifully. It soothed the throat and allayed coughing somewhat.

Diarrhœa.—A decoction of oak bark—a strong astringent—was efficacious.

Constipation.—There was no local remedy. It was a very common trouble and I was constantly asked for "English salts."

Opium "tea," made by boiling haphazard a handful of poppy-seed, was given recklessly to stop pain. It was common to give a small dose nightly to infants to keep them quiet. In a communal house, where some twenty people sleep together, a crying child is not tolerated. Children suffering from opium poisoning were often brought to the Austrian hospital, the mother being quite unaware of the cause of the child's state.

Animal Remedies.—When I was suffering from acute sciatica, was [755 paralysed with pain, and quite helpless, Marko wanted to slaughter 758] a sheep in the yard and wrap me in the raw hide. As is customary when people are ill, all the neighbours crowded into my room to cheer me. When I was on the point of collapse with pain and heat, the cat jumped on to my bad leg, hurting me horribly. The neighbours [787] chorused: "Thank God! The cat has jumped on her. Now she will not die. The cat always knows."

Then the Austrian doctor carried me off to his hospital.

The reason given for the raw hide is that the sheep eats many herbs and their virtue will soak into the patient. But in fact the raw hide is a hot fomentation. Other beasts are used.

This same Austrian doctor told me he was called to a moribund man. The hut was crowded, it was midsummer, and the heat and stench indescribable. Ten days before, a black cat had been split and applied to the patient's abdomen and was still there.

Enteric Fever.—This is endemic all through the Balkans. In Albania a horrid remedy was believed in. The dung of a dog which had been dropped on a stone and dried in the sun was pounded and given in water. I vainly tried to prevent this on one occasion; but the dose had been prepared by the local priest, who had the greatest faith in it. This repulsive remedy was included in the official pharmacopœia of Vienna till 1795, to be used internally for dysentery and griping pains. In Albania, at any rate, patients survived the treatment. Did the dog's dung supply an intestinal bacillus which combated that of enteric?

Emetic.—Human excrement mixed with water was given. Mixed with rakia it was given to an habitual drunkard with the idea of curing him. The experiment failed.

The boiled flesh of the glass snake (*Pseudopus pallasi*), a common

Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

757 enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for con-
278 sumptive patients.

A The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value
[262] for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breahké,' and you will soon be strong
A and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided
[136] my meal.

A So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says:
164 "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

136 *Diseases.*—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common.
A A preparation of buckthorn is given.

165 Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If
853 a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies;
A 854 and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye
754 causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest
M survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and
CM Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not
A suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

151 *Wounds.*—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds
A than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which
757 was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never
752 be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old
A man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some
757 probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

826 From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge
752 of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

it was not." As "first aid" for a wound he prescribed the yolk of an 757
egg and a lot of salt, well mixed and applied on a pad of wool; after- 826
wards dress as above. It was very necessary, he said, to leave no 752
splinters of bone in a wound. He described how he had spent two hours removing seventeen splinters from a fractured tibia with some little forceps he had made himself. You must work slowly and very carefully. You must watch your patient and compare his symptoms with those of others. So you learn. He had lately mended the leg of a horse by slinging it to the branch of a tree and putting the limb in a splint.

A shot through the knee, he declared, was usually fatal, and one [761]
through the ankle was difficult to make a good job of. But three fingers' breadth below the knee-cap and three above the ankle he could always be sure of curing.

For inflammation he used leeches freely. Had just treated a woman successfully for apoplexy. She was "dead" on one side and speechless. He bled her from the temple on the "dead" side and seven times from the arm on the other side. She was better next day, and he bled her five times. She completely recovered. Marash expounded head-surgery. The head, he said, is like an egg. There is a shell, then a skin, and then the meat. If this skin is broken through you can do nothing; if it is not and the fractured skull is only pressing on the brain it is curable. He demonstrated how a flap should be cut and turned back. The broken pieces of bone must be carefully removed and replaced by a piece of hard-dried bottle-gourd chosen to fit the shape. The ointment must be added and the flap replaced and dressed. Some men were very clever at cutting away bone. He had never cut away skull-bone himself. A man in Mirdita had lately cut away a large piece of the skull of an injured man successfully. He indicated the upper part of the left parietal. The "kirijee" boy from whom I had hired horses then told us that he had a piece of bottle-gourd in his head. Had been knocked on the head and stunned in a quarrel, and been unconscious till a "hekim" had taken out the broken bone. Now he said he never felt any trouble except that his head itched a good deal. I felt his head carefully, and there certainly was a hard edge to be found.

Marash Hutzi had a great reputation for curing wounds and certainly deserved it. It is of interest to find that a strictly antiseptic method was being used so long ago as his grandfather's time in the Albanian mountains when in England we still washed our wounds with any pump-water. Marash was over sixty. Trephining, I was told, was still practised to cure pains in the head, but I did not meet a case.

A dressing much used for slight wounds was olive oil in which a 757
quantity of pounded leaves of the common St. John's wort (*Hypericum* 278
perforatum) had been macerated in the sun. This seemed to have some

757 278 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.

757 753 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 151 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought [563 326] a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him 759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can 752 757 survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound [278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen, 757 278 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he 757
was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some 278
and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse.

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the 761
Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is 753
said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad earache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose.

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could [842
conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives 174]
as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it.

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

5. REMEDIES IN MONTENEGRO AND BOSNIA

M 755 759 In both of these lands there was less of "home-made" treatment and more trained doctors were practising. Especially in Bosnia, where there was an excellent and active Austrian medical service. In Montenegro matters were not so advanced. For the most part their trained men were trained in Russia, and about them the less said the better. Two I worked under at Podgoritza were unspeakable—dirty, ignorant, and cruel. The one good surgeon was Austrian-trained.

M 752 757 In Montenegro I learnt some local remedies from the older people. Vuk Vrchevitch gives an account of how a sword-cut, which severed three ribs on the right breast, was treated in 1853 by Marko Ilitchkovitch of Tzrmnitza. He poured wine into the gaping wound and rolled the patient backwards and forwards as though cleaning a barrel, and continued pouring wine and rolling till the wine came out clean and not blood-stained. He then drew the edges of the wound together and stitched them, and spread some ointment on the wound with a feather and more ointment on the bandage, which he finally bound round the patient. This dressing was changed every day, and the patient recovered in fifteen days. Asked why he washed it out with wine, the doctor replied: "We are divided at the waist into two storeys like a house. If I had left that blood which had flowed into the upper story it would have rotted there and the man would have died." Unluckily the prescription for the ointment is not given. The treatment resembles that of Marash Hutzi, and the wine and oil of the Good Samaritan.

M A 752 Till recently, skull surgery like that of Albania was practised in Montenegro and called "Sharonanje." According to Dr. S. Trojanovitch (*Narodna Starina*, viii, 1924) this operation is not known in other Slav lands. This is another proof that the Montenegrin descends from the older Balkan inhabitants rather than from the Serb.

M 752 The curator of the Belgrade Museum in 1902 told me the museum greatly wanted a trephined Montenegrin skull. A Montenegrin immigrant, an old man, was known to be trephined, and the museum staff awaited his death. He had recently died, but his relatives refused to sell his skull, kept guard over his grave, and threatened vengeance to any desecrator. An attempt was being made to bribe a Vlah from over the border to obtain the skull, but whether this succeeded I do not know.

I found it usual in Montenegro to wash wounds with wine or rakia, with the curious proviso that whichever you chose to have your wound washed with, you must drink for the rest of your life. Mitar, Krsto's eldest brother, had been shot right through the lungs in the Russo-

Montenegrins EF5

Historical Yugoslavia EF2

Turkish War of 1877 and taken to a Russian field hospital. He was at death's door, and his family, distrusting "foreign" remedies, stole him at night and carried him home. Here they poured unlimited rakia into his lungs through the wounds, which were suppurating badly. He graphically told how frightfully he had coughed, and coughed rakia out of the holes in his back and chest as well as from his mouth; and under this treatment he completely recovered. The big scars on back and chest showed the severity of the wound. The old-fashioned bullets made a frightful wound at exit, tearing out the flesh. I saw such wounds in Macedonia in 1903. Instead of the neat little hole of the modern bullet you got a ripped and ragged wound as big as the palm of the hand. M 752

Nothing would induce old Mitar to touch wine. His inside had been washed with rakia and rakia he drank to the end of his days. If he touched wine he would certainly drop down dead. M [761]

In Njegushi I learnt an infallible cure for pneumonia. Pound the dried gall-bladder of a pig with some gunpowder and drink it mixed with rakia. Gunpowder and rakia were held in high esteem as a powerful cure for most diseases. Abbé Fortis, in his *Travels in Dalmatia* (1778), mentions this as a favourite remedy of the Morlachs. M 757 278

Tuberculosis.—Montenegro was, one might say, riddled with it. I could learn of no local "remedy." Probably because, so far as one could learn, it had been introduced comparatively recently—that is, some seventy years ago, when the Montenegrins began to go out into the world. Especially youths going abroad to study caught the infection and came home, not merely to die, but to spread it far and wide, for whole families slept together—and do still—and nowhere in the world can the habit of spitting be more universal or more frequent. And "civilization" brought glass windows and iron stoves and put a stop to ventilation. M 164

The schools were hotbeds of infection, especially in winter, when the floor was covered with saliva, and the snow-soaked clothes of the children steamed in the hot, close room. But I vainly strove to get the schoolmasters to stop the spitting. They said: "It is our custom and we always do"—illustrating the fact by skilfully spitting round my feet without hitting them. It was believed that the habit was wholesome.

In Bosnia the Austrian authorities carried on an energetic anti-tuberculosis campaign. Spitting on the school floor was forbidden. Children who spat were made to clean it up. This made the parents furious, and in spite of explanations they reckoned it as "Austrian tyranny." H 744 278

In Bosnia a "remedy" was to bury a bottle of wine along with a person who had died of tuberculosis, and to dig it up after seven years. Those relatives of the deceased who drank the wine would be immune.

Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

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Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

744 278 In Bosnia a remedy for coughs was to burn oak-galls and inhale the smoke.

A 752 844 In all districts that I visited in the Balkans I found mud used to dress wounds by the common people; but never heard of a case of tetanus, though I have had hundreds of wounded through my hands. The land is very poorly, or not at all manured, which may explain this fact. The Austrian doctor in Scutari told me that in seven years he had had but two cases—both came up the river on ships, so were not local infections; also, though "Albanian women are not so well cared for at childbirth as an Austrian cow," he had never seen a case of puerperal fever, and believed neither the tetanus nor the puerperal-fever germs had reached these districts.

But with these two exceptions the Balkans are decimated with disease. It is a mistake to imagine that a rough, simple life produces health. M

A 751 164 The apparent sturdiness of the survivors blinds the outsider to the intensity of the struggle for existence and its mass of victims. Compulsory vaccination has immensely reduced small-pox in many districts. It is interesting to see how an epidemic will sweep up to the vaccination line—and there stop short. But exposure, hunger, and toil wear out many a peasant in early middle age; and disease takes a heavy toll as well. The two worst Balkan scourges are tuberculosis and syphilis. In Montenegro and in Albania there are districts where every individual is reputed to be infected with the latter. So, too, in Bosnia, and there alone it was being scientifically combated by the Austrian medical staff.

H 164 Of tuberculosis the Bosnian doctor—a Vienna-trained man—with whom I worked in Montenegro said: "We South Slavs are the most tuberculous people in Europe. Thirty per cent. of us are badly infected. I do not count an 'apex,' for I have one myself."

Leprosy is sometimes seen, but not often, and much skin disease is carried probably by dirt and vermin. H

164 165 Finally, those individuals who succumb to neither disease nor hardship are unbelievably tough, and live on to a green old age, often active to the last. That there are as many centenarians as is popularly believed I doubt. No registers of birth have been kept and dates are fixed haphazard. A gay old boy at Rioli was said to be 102. Five years afterwards I met him again and he was 120. To prove this his family earnestly declared he must be very old, because his father lived at the time when the ancient Romans—those people who made the bits of money you dig up out of the ground—were living at Podgoritza. Others were grandfathers at the time of the Russo-Turkish War; of one it was said no one could remember him without white hair, and so

forth. Seventy to eighty years was nearer their age than a hundred; H 164
and many who looked sixty were younger. 165

Women are early worn out. Especially in Montenegro, there is a very M
great difference in height between men and women. Women I found 142
usually shorter than I am (5 ft. 3 ins.); whereas men well over six foot 165
are not uncommon. The Montenegrins seemed proud of this difference, 583
and when I said that of course, if a girl was married at fifteen and had
four children before she was twenty she never grew to her full height,
they were very angry indeed.

Lunacy and Mental Diseases.—Lunacy is very generally believed to H A
be possession by evil spirits, if the lunatic is a violent and dangerous 164
one. Exorcisms are much used both by the Catholic and Orthodox 753
priests. In Orthodox monasteries lunatics are often treated with great 776
cruelty, and beaten and otherwise maltreated in order to drive out
the spirits. I once saw an unfortunate man, almost naked, chained
like a dog to a sort of kennel in the yard of a monastery. He was very
quiet and half-dazed. The monks admitted that they beat him whenever
he resisted or tried to escape.

The women of the Balkans, completely exhausted as they H A
only too often are by severe toil and perpetual child-bearing 164
and lactation, often suffer from neurasthenia and "hysteria." A 362
curious form is not uncommon among the women of Macedonia and Montenegro. I am told it occurs also in Russia. It begins as a hiccough, and becomes more and more intense until it is a violent and fast-recurring spasm of the diaphragm. The hiccoughs become louder and louder till they are an uninterrupted crowing like that of a hoarse rooster. So quick are they that the patient cannot breathe. Just as she appears to be in danger of choking, she suddenly pulls herself together, draws a long breath, gives a gasp or two, and recovers in a few minutes. At intervals the attacks may go on all day; nor, when the habit is acquired, is it easy to cure. To a certain extent it is under the patient's control; but not entirely. When I did relief work among the Bulgar peasants in Macedonia after the revolt in 1903, I met a case which had been reported as "a Turkish atrocity" by relief workers unacquainted with the complaint. I visited the village where she was. She was quite quiet. So soon as she heard I was an English relief agent she began to "crow" loudly and had one spasm after another. By way of a test I said: "Tell her if she makes that noise I will do nothing for her." And after some gasping she recovered and made no more noise while I was there. But she was not cured.

The Balkan remedy is one of suggestion. On a saint's day the patient H 755
is taken to the Orthodox church. On St. Petar's Day, at Moratchka

Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

755 Monastery, I saw three. They stood with their hands on their knees
and their heads thrust under the desk from which the pope was to
read the Lessons. The desk being draped, their heads were hidden
and their hind-quarters protruded grotesquely. If they could refrain
from crowing during the reading of the Lessons they would be cured.
The cure failed. Hardly had the pope begun to read when a hideous
and unearthly din arose beneath his desk. No one intervened; no one
even smiled. The pope read steadily, though his voice was drowned
by the noise. At the end the three were led away—uncured. But I was
A told that as a rule the cure is successful. It may well be, for the Balkan
[761 peasant is very much affected by suggestion. He pines if he believes
754] he has been cursed; he dies if he believes his death is "egil" (written
in the Book of Fate). I did not see or hear of a case of crowing hysteria
in Albania.

M In Montenegro I was told a remedy for fever. It was to make fire with
753 a fire-drill of wood. The patient helped to work the drill. The fire went
278 out of him and into the wood and he was cured. Perhaps the exertion
of drilling produced sweat and so relieved the patient. Krsto believed
greatly in this cure.

6. SOOTHSAYING

A For some inscrutable reason man in many lands has thought his
787 gods were likely to choose the insides of animals as a means for revealing
the future.

"Plucking the entrails of an offering forth, they could not find a heart within the beast." So the augurs warned Cæsar to beware the ides of March. Balkan folk still find their fate written in the bones of certain animals.

I first saw the bones read at Selchan, a village in the Spata mountains,
near Elbasan. It was in those days a very remote spot, and a Russian
A Consul was the only foreigner who had visited it within memory.
Most of the male population were "wanted" by the Turkish Govern-
[636 ment. But for the purpose of my visit the friendly Albanian Mutasarif
702] of Elbasan arranged a truce. We were halted outside the village for
a parley, and also to give time to all the men of military age (whom the
Government was trying to conscript for the Army) to hide in the bushes.
I was then received with great joy, and even greater hospitality. The
ancient headman, Constantine Suliman, a fine figure in a white
A fustanella, swore friendship, and hustled the women to spread a noble
346 banquet of roast lamb, stewed fowl, cheese, milk, and maize-bread.

000 The district had neither church nor mosque. Every inhabitant had

Every inhabitant had
two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military A 553
service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Con- 708
stantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe 651
was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who A
was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when 852
a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all 771
children that had meanwhile been born.

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of A
ancient days.

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and 574
grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and A
held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the 787
marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more?

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read M
there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set 787
the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he
told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in M
vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, 781
into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro.

787 During that war I again heard the bones fatally read. An Albanian friend of mine in Podgoritza, owner of the local omnibus, was a great student of bones. He spent his leisure reading them as we others do books. One day he begged me to come for something very important, for my eye and ear alone.

The windows of his little room were closely curtained to prevent spying, and in the half-darkness was a pile of bladebones. He chose one and showed me a white opaque spot on it as large as a sixpence, and gravely asked if I knew what it meant. Now an opaque spot in certain places means death. "Yes," said he, "but what a spot! Did you ever see such a large one?" I never had, nor had he. He was troubled and anxious and pondered and pondered. The position of the spot meant someone must die soon. But it was so large, it must mean a great man. "Could it mean anything less than a king?" That was what he wished to ask me.

There flashed through my brain: "Are they plotting to assassinate King Nikola?" (He was very unpopular, for the war was going badly for Montenegro.) I discreetly said: "I do not know." He decided that it must mean a king—and shortly.

Just about a fortnight afterwards King George of Greece was assassinated. It was quite impossible that the seer should have known of any plot. We had hardly any news from other fronts.

It was one of those coincidences which, in the popular mind, overwhelm a thousand previous failures and annihilate reason. My poor friend was awestruck at the revelation that had been granted him.

648
721 The last time I heard, and probably ever shall hear, the bones read was at Durazzo, when the Prince zu Wied was there, in the fatal summer of 1914. Durazzo was seething with representatives of every Power that had a finger in the Balkan pie. France, Russia, and Serbia were doing all they could to start a war. Italy was active. Fighting was going on and the hospitals were full of wounded. On the quay a very ragged mountain man insisted on speaking with "the Kralitza" as they
787 called me. He had come a long distance to consult me. He was eager and excited. Pulling a fowl's breast-bone from his sash, he held it against the blazing sun. The bone glowed red. The others said he was stupid and did not know how to read the bones. But he insisted and cried vehemently: "Gjak! gjak (blood, blood) everywhere, everywhere nothing but blood and more blood." And about a week or two afterwards the Great War began, and blood has not yet ceased flowing in the Near East.

Enough examples. That very many people believe the bones is undoubtable. I have been at meals where elder men have stopped

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the younger from looking at the bones because we were all happy, so "why pry into unknown evils?" 787

M
A
It is not easy to say how the bones are read. Bone-readers will not tell their lore. I have pieced together the facts I gathered. The bone must be 787 the breast-bone of a fowl (Fig. 20), or the blade-bone of a sheep or goat—no others serve. In Albania I found the fowl's bone most generally used, and in Montenegro the sheep's blade-bone. In both lands the fowl or sheep must have been bred by the house of the reader; otherwise, though it can tell of foreign affairs, it knows nothing of the fate of the house. The best fowl is a cock which is black without a white feather. It must be decapitated. If the neck were wrung the blood would all go wrong and the marks be useless.

This is the Albanian reading of the breast-bone: A good seer can A tell at once if the fowl has been bought or bred. The keel is the part 787 used. In the thickness of the neck-end (A) runs a line of marrow which tells the fortune of the house. A hole in it means the house-lord's death, and a break means an illness or accident. Breaks and branches from this main line show illness, accident, or death to members of the family. Red spots and patterns in the bone mean blood. Some holes mean graves, others cradles, according to where they are placed. I failed to learn where. The sides (B) of the bone tell public events. When a line belonging to the family forks it means a quarrel in the family.

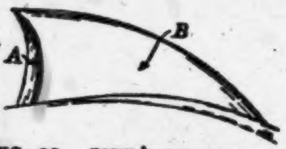

FIG. 20.—FOWL'S BREAST-BONE FOR SOOTHSAYING

The late Mgr. Cozzy, Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, told me that he had tried hard to learn how to read the bones, and a man who refused to tell him said: "You make black marks on paper and know what they mean; but I do not. God makes marks on bones and you do not know what they mean; but I do."

Such is the belief in bones in Albania that I believe men have died from sheer terror when their death has been read. Thus, an only son—well known to a friend of mine from Djakova—was at a family feast. He picked up a fowl's bone, looked at it, and threw it down with a cry. His father asked what was the matter and the youth said: "In three days you will bury me." His horrified father picked up the bone A and saw the reading was only too true. He cried out in grief: "In three [152 days we shall bury thee." His kith and kin wailed on all sides: "In 761] three days we shall bury thee." The poor lad blenched and sickened. He could not eat, gave up hope, and died.

"When he saw in the bones he must die," said the Djakovan, "he died." And with more truth than he was aware of he added: "You

A 787 would not die because you do not believe it. We believe it; it is true to us."

It is not truth that sways men, but what men believe to be true; and that is a very different thing.

I had many strange examples given me of bone-reading which had come true. It is important that the meat be torn from the bone with the fingers and not touched with a knife.

M 787 The following details about blade-bone-reading are from Montenegro. Bone-reading, I believe, is also practised in Serbia and Bosnia.

The best sheep is a black one with no white hair. The right bladebone should preferably be used and the meat torn off with the fingers. The joint-socket represents the house, and its depth or shallowness shows if the house will be full of wealth, i.e. harvest and crops. The ridge on the blade shows if the flocks will flourish. Small holes in the blade are cradles. Their position measured from the upper corner of the bone with the last joint of the thumb shows if the births will be within the house or without it, i.e. in the house where the bone is read or in that of a relative. The shapes formed by the marrow, as seen when held against the light, show where fighting will take place and when. A bone with no marks in the centre means a peaceful year. Red marks near the edge mean frontier fighting. Opaque white spots are death within or without the house, according to position. Other marks—I know not which—show banners and victory.

When a man has read the bone and another wishes to do so, it must not be passed from hand to hand, but must be laid down by one man and picked up by the other. Bone-reading in Montenegro is called "gatanje." To read a bone is "gatati." The shoulder-blade is called "lopatitza" (little shovel). Fastened to a stick it is often used to shovel the hearth ashes.

A M 787 *Dreams.*—In Albania and Montenegro, and, I believe, all through the Balkans, there is great belief in dreams. The ladies of the *intelligentsia* in Cetinje had dream-books (Italian) and discussed each other's dreams at length. Dream-books have circulated so much that it is not easy to tell which beliefs are old native ones.

M 787 777 In Montenegro I was told it was lucky to dream of a room full of corn. To dream of a dead man means that it will rain. A girl dreamed that her hair grew right down to the ground. The women told her this meant terrible disgrace would fall on her, and she was so upset that she came a considerable distance to consult me. I reassured her.

A 787 [774 In Albania it seemed to be believed by many of the tribesmen that their "hi" (soul or shadow) left them sometimes during sleep and its experiences formed the dream. Dreams were very strongly believed in. One Sunday morning Marko, much perturbed, told me his wife, Teresi, had dreamed that I should receive bad news from home that A 787 day. I laughed and reminded him there was no post till Tuesday. At that moment there was a knock at the gate. The kavass from the British Consulate brought me a note to tell me of the death of King Edward VII. After this it was vain for me to say that dreams foretold nothing. Teresi had dreamed the death of King Edward and the matter was beyond dispute.

The man who looked after my horse dreamed he had seen my sister in the bazaar buying butter and was greatly mystified. No one could explain it, but all were relieved when I had a letter from her saying she was quite well.

An Englishman who travelled in the mountains and was popular was dreamed of. He was seen fording with difficulty a river and hurting his hand as he climbed out. It was decided that he would get safely through a great danger.

It was considered extremely lucky to dream of climbing up a mountain—perhaps because the tribesman places Heaven on a mountain-top. It is lucky to dream of fishing.

7. THE CURSE

A curse is dreaded still in Balkan lands; it is closely related to a spell. A 754 But a spell is accompanied by pagan rites; a curse is without rites—it acts by suggestion. Someone believed to be powerful cries: "May you wither and die!" and you proceed to do so. A curse can be retrospective, and is then considered peculiarly horrible. One of the worst is for a mother to say to her son: "May my milk poison you!' Though he be a grown man she may thus harm him.

A good example is found in the Serb ballad of the *Murderess Mother* S
(Karadjitch Collection). The mother was wroth with her son, Jovan: 754
"O Jovan, 'tis five years since thy mother gave thee a wife, yet neither 538
boy nor maiden has been born to thee. Someone hath cast a spell on 842
thee; or evil people have wrought wickedness; or has someone cursed 593
you on your marriage? or dost thou not like the maiden? or she like not thee? Something there must be. Kill thy wife, O my son, and I will give thee a better of better stock, who will bear thee offspring!" Jovan refuses with horror, and his mother unbuttoned the coat on her bosom, and tore open her shirt and drew forth both her breasts, crying: "O Jovan, disobedient son! If thou obeyest not thine old mother, may thy mother's milk be leprous to thee, which thou hast sucked from these breasts! Kill thy wife and I will give thee a better." And young Jovan was greatly afeared of his mother's terrible curse,

Serbs EF6

Montenegrins EF5

S 754 538 842 593 and he thought: "Better that I lose my soul and then repent of my sin than that I should ruin my mother's desire (for offspring), and hearken not to my mother's curse." He then orders his young brother Bogdan to do the deed and bring back a bloody knife as token. Bogdan refuses, and Jovan wishes to kill him, too. Bogdan weeps and prays his mother to remove the curse. But she will not, and Bogdan consents and leads away his sister-in-law. She implores to be allowed to pass three days in church, and he grants her prayer. There a miracle is vouchsafed her and she bears a beautiful boy. Jovan and Bogdan rejoice. But the mother, even then, will not pardon their disobedience. Filled with wrath, she stabs herself, and, very properly, "the demons seized her soul."

Here is a picture of the ancient power of life and death that parents had over children as well as of the power and terror of a curse. We see, too, the dawning influence of the Church upon the minds of a savage people. The tale probably dates from the days when Christianity was beginning to break down the pagan customs of the peasantry.

S 754 Strange is it to find the retrospective curse in the official report of the trial at Salonika of the Serbian "Black Hand" officers in 1917. Naum Dimitrijevitch, a journalist, giving evidence about the lawless state of the Serbian Army on July 25, 1914, states: "Major Dobrosav Gjorgevitch came up quickly, cursing as he came my *father and mother*. He reached me and overwhelmed me with his horrible curses against the *father and mother* of the Prime Minister, Nikola Pashitch, and Stojan Protitch, Minister, and all the Radical members. . . . He shouted: 'Now you shall meet your God. You shall never get away from here.' Then he cursed the *father and mother* of Colonel Okanovitch, etc."

A M Thus even among the *intelligentsia* the use of the retrospective curse persists. Pashitch's parents had long been dead. Small wonder the peasant still believes in it.

754 761 Mothers in Albania and Montenegro will still tell you, when a child has died, that a curse has been put on their breasts.

M 754 681 In Montenegro, in the days when the vladikas (bishops) were said to be rulers, they had no temporal power in fact. They had no way of enforcing orders save by terrifying recalcitrants with a threat of excommunication or by putting curses on them. The vladika's curse was greatly dreaded. When Danilo Petrovitch decided to rule as temporal Prince and refused to be made bishop, I fancy he shore himself of much power. The curses of Vladika Petar I were very powerful.

He is said to have cried to an evil-doer: "May leprosy devour you!" And a year afterwards the man died of it. To another he cried: "May your stock die out!" And Medakovitch, writing of Montenegro in

Greece EH1

Montenegrins EF5

1844-54, tells the tale and says the entire bratstvo was extinct. The fishermen on the lake had to pay the vladika yearly a barrel of fish for fishing rights. No barrel arrived. They were asked why, and wickedly replied that they had not been able to catch any fish. The vladika was patient. Still no fish arrived. The fishermen then explained: "There are now no fish in the lake." "No," said the vladika firmly, "*there are none and there will be none.*" M 754 681 M [226 577]

To everyone's horror the lake was fishless. The fishermen hurried to the vladika and prayed him to withdraw his curse. He kindly did so—and the fish reappeared.

This mighty prelate was canonized by the Montenegrin Church shortly after his death, and is the revered St. Petar Cetinski.

His curses, however, pale before that laid on the Greek statesman Venizelos in 1916. I give it to show what the Orthodox Church is capable of when roused, and the present belief in the curse in the Near East. Venizelos was denounced for having "betrayed the nation to the Anglo-French." "Therefore against the traitor Venizelos we have invoked the following injuries: the ulcers of Job, the whale of Jonah, the leprosy of Naaman, the bite of Death, the shuddering of the dying, the thunderbolt of Hell, and the malediction of God and man. We shall call for the same injuries upon those who, at the forthcoming elections, shall vote for the traitor Venizelos, and further pray for their hands to wither and for them to become deaf and blind. Amen." G 754 664

Curse-pits were dug, and crowds, filing by, put their curses upon stones and hurled them into the pits.

True, the ecclesiastics who laid the curse got into trouble. But they had, in fact, but expressed—flamboyantly—the feelings of the people. Venizelos, having once fallen, has never returned to power. The peasant has little faith in elections—he has every reason to doubt their efficacy; but of the efficacy of a real good curse he has ample evidence.

In Albania a curse may lie for generations on a family and end it. I visited the house of a family group at Plani in Pulati. The curse was that the family should not multiply, and I was assured it was dying out. No one knew who had laid the curse and all attempts to remove it had failed. Eighteen persons were living crowded in its one room. In cases of this kind it is obvious that unwholesome surroundings, bad water, or inherited disease is the origin of the "curse." To those so "cursed," however, the thing is a mystery, and mysterious means are the only ones used to combat it. A 754

All medicine begins as magic. The invention of the microscope has at last revealed many of the real "demons." But even in England there are still people who prefer quack remedies to scientific "demon"-slaying ones. A 121

8. The Oath

A M 626 728 628 The oath played a most important part in the whole tribal area of Albania and Montenegro. The tribes lived, till recent times, in a constant state of blood-feud both with each other and within the tribes, and this was regulated only by means of sworn intervals of peace. In Montenegro you were in "krv" (blood) or under oath ("pod vjere"). In Albania, in "gjak" (blood) or under "besa." The tribesman as a rule kept the oath when formally sworn with rigid fidelity. A man forsworn was universally condemned. How by means of such oaths blood-feuds were settled we have told in another chapter.

A 626 783 *Manner of Taking Oath.*—Among the Albanian tribes there still exists the very antique custom of swearing the oath upon a stone. The priest and the hodja have succeeded in adding respectively the cross and Allah to his oath, but to the priest's vexation the mountain man persistently says, as he throws down the stone in the circle of headmen, "Per guri i per kruch" (by the stone and the cross), and puts the stone first. When a Catholic tribesman had confessed and received absolution he liked to come to church next time carrying a stone in proportion to the size of the sins confessed. What pact he had sworn on the stone I could not understand. The stone in this case was said to represent penitence. Some priests forbade the practice; others said it was unnecessary, but allowed it because this visible sign of contrition seemed really to help them. "But," said Padre Kiri of Thethi, laughing, "when a man came with a rock on his shoulder I told him he might leave it at the door."

A reason suggested for this custom is that the penitent transferred his sin to the stone and so got rid of it.

In trials before the elders a man accused of crime would swear his innocence upon a stone and fling it down before his judges.

M 626 783 *Montenegro.*—I did not find the custom in Montenegro, but it was clearly common till recently. Prince Danilo, in his Code of 1855, decrees (Law 65): "If after this day a Montenegrin or Brdjanin present himself before justice with a stone tied to his neck, whether innocent or guilty he shall be flogged."

M 754 The custom, it appears, has been flogged out. But in spite of Danilo's floggings I still found the custom of throwing a stone with a curse on to the reputed grave of a bad man. On the western side of Montenegro are several stone piles, and many such are to be found in the Herzegovina, some of which have been excavated and proved to be prehistoric tumuli. Krsto firmly believed all such heaps to be "proklete gomile" (accursed heaps) over the body of a desperate criminal who

Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Slavic People E16

had been stoned to death "many, many years ago." He never failed to add at least half a dozen stones and a multitude of curses to any heap we passed by the way. M 754

Vuk Vrchevitch, in his book on old customs at minor religious festivals, collected in the Bocche di Cattaro, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina, mentions in a footnote that it was customary in the middle of the nineteenth century in Montenegro, when "a man made a statement and at once recognized he had made a mistake, to strike it on a stone (u kamen udariti). He scratched a stone with the nails of his right hand to transfer the error to the stone." As the author thought it necessary to explain this custom to Serbian readers, it is clear that the custom was a local one. M 789

It is noteworthy that I can find no reference to swearing upon stones in old Serbian ballads, though swearing enough takes place in them. Sb 626 783

That it is a custom of extreme antiquity there can be no doubt. Lavrov (*v.* Jirecek) states that the Macedonian Slavs of old worshipped trees and stones. But tree- and pillar-worship is common to very many lands and existed in the Balkans long before the advent of the Slavs. Sir Arthur Evans describes the cult at Mycenæ and Dodona (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi). The oath on the stone may, therefore, belong to all and any of the Balkan people. SP 771 783 627

The Northern Slavs appear to have had some such oath. Helmoldus, in his *Chronica Slavorum* (*c.* 1160), tells that they "showed great reverence to their holy places, which were frequently sacred groves or springs, and would not lightly take an oath there, lest they should be overtaken by the wrath of the avenging god." When the church at Oldenburg was built and dedicated to St. John the Baptist in 1066 by the Saxons, "the Count bade the Slavs gather in the church to hear the Word of God . . . and the Slavs were restrained in future from *swearing by trees, fountains, and stones*; they were to bring those accused of crimes to the priest to be examined by the iron or the ploughshare" (*c.* 83). The steps taken by various races to "civilize" others are very interesting. Here the Saxons evidently consider the practice of ordeal by hot iron a more Christian method than that of swearing innocence upon an object believed to be sacred by the swearer.

Helmoldus's statement shows that this ordeal was not Slavonic. We must, therefore, suppose that the hot-iron ordeal, recommended in Stefan Dushan's Code (1349) as a means of testing serfs accused of crime, was borrowed from a neighbour land. Be this as it may, the ordeal was in use in South Slav districts till well into the nineteenth century.

Swearing on a stone has survived only in Albania as a means of self-justification; and it is not impossible that it has existed from A 783 627

A
783 pre-Slavonic times. One other trace maybe of holy trees and stones
627 I saw in 1904 when riding through Albania, and never again.

My horse-boy picked up stones and thrust them in the forks of trees when we passed through a wood. To the horror of my companion,
A
who was a colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society from
[775 South Albania, the boy declared he was doing so for the spirits of the
769] dead to have something to tread on as they passed. Unfortunately the colporteur blamed him, and he would say no more about it. Hahn, in his Albanian studies, mentions this custom.

A On this journey we passed two small woods where, I was told, no
778 trees were ever cut because "a long while ago a church stood there." No one knew when. The "church" had probably been imagined, to account for the sanctity of the wood.

S In Serbian tales and ballads the oaths are usually sworn by "God
627 and St. John." Does St. John the Baptist represent a former oath on
538 a holy spring? In Montenegro, SS. Petar Cetinski and Vasili of Ostrog
782 were daily asked to bear witness to many dubious statements. No Montenegrin peasant can make a statement, whether true or false, without calling on God and one or other of his saints; and, alas! the old idea of the sanctity of an oath had evaporated and the statement was too often a lie.

Whereas I found the word of the Albanian tribesman reliable; but civilization may weaken his word, too.

M Old King Nikola of Montenegro used to call Heaven to witness
782 many remarkable statements. Once, when the Diplomatic Circle had been summoned to hear an unusually remarkable one, it is said that an astonished silence ensued, till one Minister Plenipotentiary, recovering his presence of mind, politely said: "Your Royal Highness is famed through Europe as . . . a poet."

SECTION VIII

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SOME BALKAN TABOOS. IRON. HAIR

[p. 285]

1. Propitiating the stranger.
2. The Name Taboo. Importance of the name.
3. The Food Taboo. Men will not eat with women.
4. Taboo on showing the face.
5. Iron. Degradation of the smith. Power of iron against spirits.
6. Hair. Beliefs and customs connected with it.

[p. 286]

SECTION VIII

SOME BALKAN TABOOS. IRON. HAIR

1. Propitiating the Stranger

In a land where magic is still practised it is not surprising to find some ancient taboos still alive. A M 186 784

Of the many things that mankind fears, the unknown is perhaps the most dreaded. Therefore in old days, when travellers were scarce, save on well-marked trade routes, the stranger was an object of great suspicion. Who could tell what evil spells he might work? Magic was then the great danger; to-day it is "politik," the mysterious power of secret diplomacy. The stranger is still suspect in lands much nearer home.

In those parts of the Balkans where the tribal system was still in force, the reluctance of the tribe to admit a stranger was still marked. Off the beaten track a guide was a necessity, not merely to show the way but to act as a passport and explain one. In many places the peasant believed firmly in hidden treasure, and every stranger was suspected of knowing the spell by which to acquire and run off with it. A reason for the stranger's presence is required. A M [787]

Krsto Pejovitch, when I first went up-country with him, began to explain me so soon as we got off the highroad. He was showman, so to speak, and I was the monkey to his organ-grinding. On arrival at a han he would begin loudly: "She can read and write several languages. She can make pictures without a machine [i.e. draw]. She can sing. She can," etc. According to Krsto there were few things I could not do. Moreover, the Montenegrin proverb says: "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head," and as I wore my hair short, an uncommon thing in those days, the simple folk accepted the fact that my wits were necessarily long. Krsto would point this out, and add, in an aside, to bachelors: "She is not married, and God knows how rich." M 186 114 787 M [562]

When I protested, he declared this was the right way to conduct a tour, and he knew all about it. I had come to see real Montenegrin life—and I saw it. But so long as I live I shall feel for the luckless dancing bear who is prodded up to perform once more when dead tired, and remember the days when I could not make a note or a sketch except before a changing crowd as curious as monkeys, which flocked to see a woman who could not only write but write English. As often M 186 114

Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

M
186 as not the schoolmaster picked up each sheet to examine as I finished
114 it. How many times, when hoarse and exhausted, I have howled the
"British Grenadiers," or some such ditty, only to have it rapturously
encored!

M In return I was crammed with food and drink.

574 One should never look a gift-horse in the mouth; but the suspicion
with which a stranger is received, the endless questions that must be
answered, and finally the lavish hospitality when it is decided to admit
him, recall the fact that among primitive people it is necessary to
A propitiate the stranger, lest, offended, he should work evil to the house.
186 By eating under the roof he acquires a temporary membership of the
574 family. In the Albanian mountains, and, indeed, in the towns, I have
been given hospitality with the words, "Buk i kryp i zemer i em"
("Bread and salt and my heart").

M In Montenegro, rakia was the universal symbol of hospitality. When,
574 after weeks of showing off my "parlour tricks," we returned to Krsto's
house at Njegushi, he was triumphant. He confessed he had had grave
doubts as to the propriety of a warrior going round the country as
servant to a woman. But, managed in his manner, the tour had been
a great success. I had, he said, made an excellent impression, and on
one point only had offended. If he might say so, it was thought improper
for an unmarried woman to imitate the manners of the officers. Greatly
surprised, I asked what military action I had performed. He explained
M that in Montenegro all modest women blew their noses "like this"—
576 here he performed loudly upon his own, with his fingers—whereas
515 the officers who had been trained abroad used a handkerchief, and
so my doing so was thought decidedly "fast." I conformed carefully
to many a local custom, but in spite of Krsto's request I drew the
line at "the finger trick."

M Upon the journey he repeatedly affirmed that I had not come to
777 search for treasure. At Pirlitor upon Durmitor, the legendary site of
787 the castle of Voyvoda Momchilo, the belief in treasure was very strong.
The local headmen followed me about the alleged ruins, though by
nothing short of magic could I have moved the great stones. I purposely
dropped my heavy pocket-knife, and the clank of metal on stone brought
them up swiftly with the cry: "Has she found it?"

S In Serbia, where I travelled without a guide, for I was raw to the
186 Balkans at that time, I found the stranger taboo very strong. As I was
114 ignorant of their politics, I merely thought they were crazy when they
dogged me perpetually and went my way. When the powers in Belgrade
ascertained, by means of countless cipher telegrams, that I was really
a British subject and not a Karageorgevitch in disguise, as they had
been foolish enough to suppose, then suddenly the hospitality phase

Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

began and I was propitiated on all sides. It was the thing to ask me S 186
into the nearest house and stuff me with food, and for days my hotel 114
bills were almost nil. But that was in the days of the Obrenovitch, when the Karageorgevitches had been exiled for ever and ever for having murdered Prince Michael. They now reign over wide lands for having murdered the Archduke Ferdinand.

We, too, have a stranger craze. We still hedge the stranger with difficulties until, or unless, we think fit to feast him at the Guildhall, hoping earnestly that by thus feeding the beast we may induce him to work magic in our favour with tariffs or arm his compatriots on our behalf.

2. THE NAME TABOO

Among many primitive races all the world over a man's name is A 784
part of himself. Just as spells to hurt a man may be wrought by means 551
of bits of his hair or nails, so, too, can evil be worked by using his 121
name. The name is, therefore, a thing to be carefully guarded. Thus is the name taboo explained by authorities on the subject.

The taboo is common in the Balkans. In 1904, among the Bulgars A B
of Macedonia, I had to classify long lists of refugees. Woman after 784
woman would give her name as "Maria," and refuse, with tears running 551
down her cheeks, to give her husband's name, or any clue to her identity, 576
save perhaps the name of her father in a distant village. "They are ashamed. You must not ask such a thing," I was told. I had asked an indecent question and hurt their feelings. "Ask another woman." The Maria in question would hurry from the room, while I learnt from a woman of the same village that the husband's name was Dmitri, son of George. This constantly happened when I have dealt with Bulgar and Albanian refugees. The explanation always is that they are "modest."

In Montenegro the custom was nearly dead—but not quite. Old M 784
folk still thought it improper for man and wife to name each other. 551
The schoolmaster at Tzrmnitza told me that there were still many 576
who had never done so. Savo Vuletitch, himself a Montenegrin, in one of his admirable tales of Montenegro, tells how "Petar Radisitch, though he had lived on the best of terms with his wife for full twenty years, had never called her by her name, nor even spoken to her as a human being, on any subject, if it were possible for a stranger to overhear. Had he to speak to her in public he muttered through his teeth, and she did the same by him. To have done otherwise would have been shameful."

A plan I found adopted was that the man gave his order in the

M 184 551 576 third person without looking at his wife: "She is to bring coffee." Or turned his back and gave the order over his shoulder: "Bring coffee." If he had to mention his wife or present her, the older men still did so with a formal apology: "Da oprostish—moja zhena" ("If you will pardon me—my wife"). This I heard often enough. The mention of any female relative was avoided, and a man with daughters but no sons would emphatically declare he had no children. The girl child was made to feel her inferiority early. "A man feeds his son for himself, but his daughter for another man," she was told.

M 606 551 The name taboo till recently extended to other members of a household. The daughter-in-law, when brought to the family house, was not to call her new in-laws by their baptismal names.

576 "She dared not, for modesty," says Vuk Karadjitch. She addressed them all by nicknames which implied admiration or respect. Thus she called the elder brethren of the house Gospodin (sir), or Djever (brother-in-law), or even Ago (a great Aga). The younger more familiarly, as Sokolo (falcon), Miloshto (dear one), Zlatoye (golden one), or Krasni (the handsome). The elder women of the house were called Gospa (lady); the sisters-in-law Snasha, if they were the wives of the husband's brothers. If they were the unmarried sisters of the husband, who would all be very young in a land where girls are often married at fourteen, they were given fancy names, such as Lepotitza or Ubavitza (pretty little one), or Gospodjitza (little lady), or Golubitza (little dove). Beyond the family circle I found no trace of name taboo in Montenegro.

A 551 553 In the North Albanian mountains, however, in the Dukagin districts, it was decidedly unadvisable for a man's real name to be known. Especially in Shala, Shoshi, and Nikaj, I found it customary for men to adopt another name. It was a constant annoyance to the Franciscans that, though they baptized their flocks with good Albanian Christian names such as Kol (Nicholas), Gin (John), Ded (Dominic), or Pietr (Peter), the lads, on growing up, persisted in calling themselves by A 571 784 another name, preferably a Moslem one. They rigidly kept the fasts; they flocked to church on a feast day; according to their rather dim lights they fulfilled some, at least, of their religious duties. But they called themselves Hussein, or Ismail, or Mehmed, and no plea or threat of the priest could budge them. I was once asked by a Franciscan to express my horror of the practice to a whole party of men. I therefore said no one in England would believe they were Christians if they had such names. They did not like this and crossed themselves repeatedly in proof of their faith. But on this question they were obstinate. They did it "because they wished to," "because the names were beautiful" and, most convincing of all, "because we always do."

Montenegrins EF5
Great Russians RF2
Greece EH1
Serbs EF6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The district was known to swarm with witches and, though none of A 551
them said so, similar customs in other lands make it probable that the 553
nickname was intended to shield its owner's identity. How better than [754]
by taking a Moslem name?

A good example was my old friend, plucky old Mehmed Shpend of
Shala, a well-known headman. It was incredible—nor did anyone
pretend—that he had been baptized Mehmed the Raven. But when
asked what his Christian name was he only grinned and twinkled, and
said that "Mehmed Shpend" was "fort i bukur" ("very pretty"). G

A curious example of the belief that the Name is the Person occurred GR
at Mount Athos at the beginning of this century. A Russian officer 776
entered one of the monasteries as a monk. He was pious and much respected. Pondering over the sacred mysteries, it seemed fit to him that separate worship should be given to the Name of God. The idea found favour among some of the monks, and the cult of the name was instituted by them. The authorities at Athos forbade it, but the cult became more popular. It ended abruptly by the arrival of a Russian warship. The misguided monk was carried off and the heresy ended. The Russian Government, whether Tsarist or Bolshevist, stands no nonsense.

The Importance of a Name.—In Montenegro it was believed that the M
naming of a child may have an influence on its fate. It is customary for 753
the same man to be christening "kum" (godfather) to all the children 777
of one family. But if one child after another dies it is clear that the 852
kum is unsuitable; and, in order to make sure this time that the kum is pleasing to God, the next infant is left in its cradle by the wayside. The mother hides close by. The first wayfarer who rashly stoops and looks at the infant is at once claimed as kum and must not refuse.

On the way up to Durmitor I saw a cradle all alone, and was about
to investigate it when Krsto snatched hold of me, crying: "No! no!
you will have to be kum!" He then halted and shouted out for the
mother, saying that neither of us was going to be trapped into being
kum. The mother came up laughing, with a sickle in her hand. She
said she was merely cutting some grass and had brought the baby M
with her. It was already baptized; so we passed on safely. Being kum [551
cost a deal of money and trouble. But we might have refused? "No," 462]
said Krsto decidedly; "if you are caught that is quite impossible."

Under such circumstances, and especially if the child is weakly,
it is common to baptize it Zhivko (lively), or Vuk (wolf), or one of
the many derivatives of Vuk—Vuksan, Vujadin, Vule, etc., or Dabizhiv
(mayest thou live), in order to give strength. S

The custom exists, too, in Serbia and Bosnia. In old days, in Monte- [852]
negro, when the christening of children was part of the ceremony M 852
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Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1

852 of ending a blood-feud, it was usual to delay baptism for two or three
628 years so as to have children ready in case of need. The child meanwhile
M was known by a nickname which often stuck to him for life and became
[553] a recognized name. Such, it was said, was the origin of such names as
Predrag (very dear); Mrko, or Mirko (dark); Mrgud (sulky); Plavo
(fair), etc. Some names derive from personal habits: Krivokapitch
(son of a crooked cap), an heroic bratstvo of the Tzutzi tribe; Pletikos
(plaited hair), indicating an ancestor with a fine pigtail; Delibashovitch
and Haydukovitch (son of a brigand leader), etc.

But how far such names were adopted with a view to concealing another name it is at this date impossible to say.

3. THE FOOD TABOO

M The pig is, of course, taboo among the Moslems. I never saw an
A instance of this being broken. On the contrary, careful inquiry was
262 always made about unknown dishes. The Montenegrins, therefore,
252 regard the pig as peculiarly Christian. Roast pig is a special dish both
at Easter and Christmas.

Very good it was, too, when stuck with sweet herbs and roasted
under an iron cover on the hearth. I remember eating hot sucking-pig,
smothered in cream, at one o'clock in the morning to celebrate the
M dawn of Easter Day at Sophia Petrovna's school at Cetinje, with all
[796] the girls and many of the members of the Russian Legation. We had
just come from the chapel after crying triumphantly "Christ is risen."
All save myself had abstained from flesh and fat many days. And they
C fell on that pig!

S That pre-eminently Orthodox country, Serbia, is pre-eminent
262 also for pigs. In Macedonia, too, a drove of pigs showed a village to
be Christian, though my poor guide, a Macedonian Bulgar, did not
quite express what he meant when he said sadly: "Ici seulement les
cochons sont Chrétiens."

Y Among the Catholics of Albania and Dalmatia the land tortoise is
A thought very good eating. It does, in fact, make a very palatable stew
262 and is more meaty than one would think. But the Orthodox regard
it with horror. Krsto repeatedly told me that none but a "Latinski"
would eat anything so filthy.

Neither Serb nor Albanian will eat frogs, though the ponds swarm with fat ones and the people are hungry.

A Catholics, Orthodox, and Moslems all regarded the eating of horse-
262 flesh as most unclean. The report that it was sold as an article of food
in Italy caused that country to be called an accursed and unclean place.

Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5
Yugoslavia EF1

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

H 262 The Abbé Fortis, in his *Journey in Dalmatia*, 1776, notes that the Morlachs seldom or never eat veal, and states that it is an ancient prohibition, quoting St. Hieronimus contra Jovin: "In nostra provincia scelus putant Vitulos devorare." Marnovitch, a Bosnian, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, says that the Dalmatians, "who have not been infected with foreign vices, think veal an unclean flesh." That it was so considered by many of the Slavs is shown by the fact that one reason why the Russians (1607) suspected the false Demetrius of being an impostor was that "in his diet he would ordinarily eat calves' flesh, which is held an abomination among them" (*The Russian Impostor*, London, 1674).

M 262 I never heard veal prohibited in Montenegro, but certainly never came across it in a native house. But this may not be the result of a taboo so much as the fact that the grown animal is so valuable for draught purposes and for milk that it is not slaughtered till fit for nothing else. The beef, as hard as your boot, is a thing to avoid. It was very funny to see the British Navy, when they occupied Scutari, trying to make roast beef out of dead Scutari ox. They had an erroneous idea that the local mutton was unwholesome, and when draught ox failed, ate tinned stuff from the ships.

Y 262 An interesting question arises from food taboos. It would appear that the beast tabooed by one race is the favourite diet of their enemy next door. Thus veal, we are told, was tabooed by the South Slav, and pig is tabooed by the Turk and Jew. The two most popular meats of Vienna are pork and veal. Mutton, they will tell you, is uneatable. The South Slav eats pork with great gusto and makes it his Christmas, and often Easter, dish as something peculiarly Christian, abhorred by both Jew and Turk.

H 262 264 562 576 Abbé Fortis mentions also of the Morlachs that the man apologizes for his wife in the words "Da oprostish" ("Mayest thou excuse"), and that women never eat at the table with the men. I found this custom strong in Montenegro. Only in the towns among the *intelligentsia* did men and women ate together. Even in the houses of the old Voyvodas up-country the wife and daughters stood humbly round the table, fetching and carrying, and not daring to sit down for a moment. They retired to another room when the males had finished, and ate up what was left in company with the children. When, after a good deal of discussion, it was decided to rank me as a man, and I ate at the male table, women often would refuse to eat with me, saying that it would be shameful ("sramotno"), and that their modesty ("stid") prevented them. Krsto, who, of course, ate with the men, used to give himself great airs to the women in the houses we visited. He thrust out his hand for them humbly to kiss on arrival, and shouted his orders rudely

H
262 to them. Any women sitting by the roadside when a man passed at
264 once arose and gave humble greeting. Krato always was very lordly on
562 these occasions. He always ate with me—partly, I think, to convince
576 himself he was not my servant but my equal. Poor Iké fed apart
afterwards. Once when he was absent a week I begged her to feed with me, for it was ridiculous to make two meals of it. But the mere idea of doing anything so unseemly distressed her so that she burst into tears and prayed me to excuse her. She said it was a thing that could not be done; it would "shame" me.

H For a man to wait on a woman was very humiliating. A mounted
576 gendarme, a Bosnian Moslem, was once ordered to escort me in Turkish
562 territory. He had conscientious scruples about obeying a woman.
554 After a midday halt at a "kavana," he hurried down to get the horses ready, leaving his rifle on the balcony. Presently he shouted up to no one in particular, "Give me my rifle." As it was alongside of me I handed it down. His ruse had succeeded, and he cried with childish glee, "She has waited on me! she has waited on me!" Honour was satisfied.

A Among the Albanian tribesmen it was considered very degrading to
554 eat with a woman. I remember how a Kastrati man jeered at the
264 Austrian Consul. A poor creature, indeed. He drank coffee and ate meat and bread, and let his wife eat at the same time. A shameless woman! A despicable man. The Kastrati man would not let his wife so misbehave. He would never eat with a woman, not he.

A It is amusing how often ambassadors, generals, admirals, ministers,
[186] and other exalted beings are looked down on with contempt by the native whose respect and admiration they fondly imagine they are arousing.

When I arrived at Vuthaj, a Moslem Albanian village, where they had never before entertained a strange female, there was a very long powwow as to the correct course to pursue. I had gone there on the invitation of a headman. It was decided that I was too important a guest to feed with the harem. I was to rank as a man and feed with the chiefs. But in order to comply with their sense of fitness I was helped last of all, even after my horse-boy. And so honour was satisfied. The women waited at table—unveiled—but I did not enter their apartment and had no communication with them.

Among the Christian Mirdites at the house of the Kapetan, where
A I was treated with great honour, the younger men of the family waited
[576] at table, as did Chaucer's Squire, and no woman was allowed to come near me at all. I heard a giggling crowd trying to get a peep at me through the crack of the door, but they were chivied away by a male, and my suggestion that I should see them was met by the statement that they were too modest.

Both the name and the food taboos being even to-day so common B 262
in the Balkans, it is strange to find Herodotus, so many centuries ago, 175
mentioning both as peculiar customs of the Ionians and explaining 171
them thus: "Even those who esteemed themselves the most noble of 562
the Ionians on first settling in the country brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women whose husbands they put to death. In consequence of this violence the women made a compact which they delivered to their daughters never to sit at meals with their husbands nor to call them by their appropriate names" (Bk. I, c. xlvi). He, however, expressly states that these Ionians were of very mixed origin, saying that: "Molossians, Pelasgians of Arcadia, and Dorians of Epidaurus were mingled with them." These are some of the oldest known Balkan tribes. The Molossians especially were in South Albania. The food and name taboos were thus possibly brought from the Balkans to Asia by the men. Judging by the present Balkan peoples, it is far more likely that the customs should have been enforced by them on their captured wives than that Herodotus's explanation should be correct.

4. TABOO ON SHOWING THE FACE

The amount of veiling done by the women varies very considerably A H
among the Balkan peoples, I know. The most closely veiled and hooded 784
of all were the Moslem Slavs of Mostar and Serajevo. The Moslem 562
Slav, whether called Serb or Croat, is a very strict Mohammedan.

This may be because the Bosnians and Herzegovinians—the Bosnians more especially—adopted Islam in many cases as early as the fifteenth
century, whereas the Albanians, upon whom it sits far more lightly, A
and a very large number of whom belong to the heretical Bektashi 794
sect, became Mohammedan mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth 562
centuries, and some in the nineteenth. The women of the Moslem 292
Albanian mountain tribes are never veiled, and will come to market 171
and bargain freely with any man, their faces more exposed than those of many Christians.

In the towns, which were under the rule of Turkish officials whose A
womenfolk possibly set the fashions, the Albanian Moslem women 292
were all more or less closely veiled. In Dulcigno they almost exceeded 171
the hooding of Mostar, and have preserved the custom under the rule of the Montenegrin, which was forced upon them by the pious efforts of Mr. Gladstone.

The veiling of women was, however, not unknown in Ancient Greece, and the veiling or partial veiling of both men and women was practised in various primitive and non-Moslem lands. The usual explanation of

A 292 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem
171 woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her
unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the
A lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous
[186] than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the
scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian
Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives
on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had
each played against her own husband.

Y I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted
A Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell
292 where it would end?

562 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women
561 wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped
over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their
heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered,
Y too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

A Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the cover-
[121] ing of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by
it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a
protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with
A their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their
Y teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

M Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the
754 soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose
776 all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from
774 danger.

A "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when
Y my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief
M over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable
777 precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves
and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These
things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the
A glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and
585 hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

292

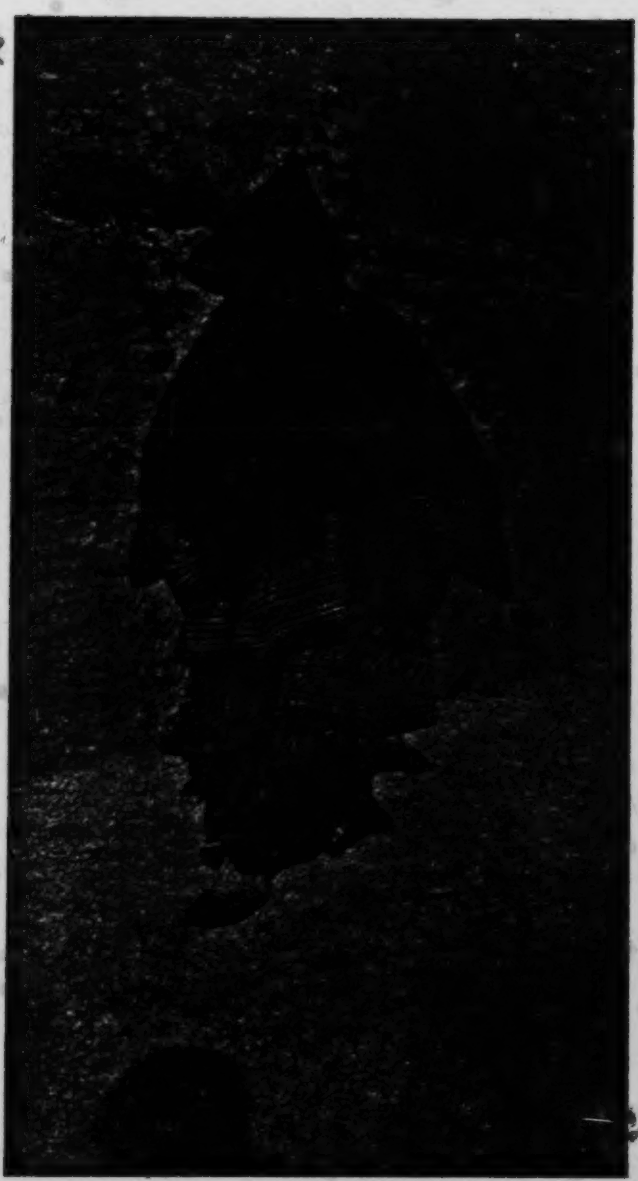


PLATE XI.—MOSLEM ALBANIAN WOMAN, DULCIGNO (1907)

[Facing p. 297]

Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

A
The Catholic thus goes safely to church and there the veil is raised. 585
Evil spirits are powerless there; and as we have seen, when she leaves 777
the sacred building she is carefully veiled and conveyed safely to her A
future home. Food and drink are given her by her attendants behind 264
the veil; all possible precautions are taken, in fact, to prevent her soul 777
escaping and harmful glances falling on her. 774

In early days in Montenegro the brides were so closely veiled M
when fetched from home by the svatovi that in the Martinovitch 585
family, of Baitza near Cetinje, there is a tradition of a bride being 293
accidentally exchanged for the bride of another wedding-party. 578

Two parties of svatovi started from Baitza to fetch brides from afar, and had to pass the night on the mountain-side. They met at the same wayside spring and encamped. The two girls begged to be allowed to sleep together. Next morning each party rode off with the wrong girl. The weddings were celebrated at once on arrival, and as no one had previously seen the girls and they, as was customary, knew nothing about their future bridegrooms, the mistake was not detected till a week after, when the girls' relatives came to pay the first visit to them. They were then infuriated to find that the carefully planned alliances had gone wrong and they had not acquired the "in-laws" they had intended. The respective bridegrooms expressed themselves
quite satisfied. Not so the parents of brides. A violent quarrel took M
place. Blows were exchanged and a blood-feud was imminent. The [627]
annulment of the weddings was demanded, and peace was only restored
by the metropolitan, who declared the marriages legal and the whole M
complication evidently the will of God, Who must be obeyed. A

B
All Balkan people, so far as my experience goes, sleep with the 513
head covered, no matter how hot it may be.

I remember a suffocating night in a wretched cottage at Bratonozhitch, Montenegro. I lay on a bench on one side of the hut, and the floor was covered by some sixteen persons of both sexes. So hot was it that the men stripped their shirts and slept in their breeches; but all buried their heads under thick, felt-like blankets.

Often have I been awakened from a much-needed midday sleep under a tree by a choking, horrible smell, and have found that some kindly creature while I slept had covered my head with a filthy towel or coat. Poor old Marko perpetually told me it was most unhealthy to sleep with an uncovered head. By way of warning he told me the
horrible end of a neighbour of ours. He not only left his head uncovered, M
but he slept near an open window. The wind blew into his head and [762
went round and round inside it, and the unhappy man, driven dis- 753]
tracted, hanged himself in the vineyard. B

A possible further reason for shrouding the head is the strange 761
513

B 761 513 belief described in the section on Balkan Remedies that life depends on a worm that lives in the ear. The ear in this case would be a great danger-spot.

A 292 A very large proportion of the Albanian mountain men, especially in the Maltsia e Madhe, completely shroud the head in a long strip of cotton and wear it even in the hottest weather. That it is not needed as protection from the sun is shown by the townsmen wearing only a small fez.

B 171 174 777 Blunt, in his *Voyage into the Levant* (1650), gives a quaint tale about the origin of head-wrapping: "At last we came to an high and large mountain of a daye's journey over. The Jew held it to be Thermopylæ. . . . Herewith he told me that the Easterne custome of wearing Turbantes came from thence and that how once the Barbarous people having the Grecian Army at a great advantage there was no other remedy but that some few should make good that narrow passage. . . . There were some brave Spirits who undertooke it, and knowing they went to an inevitable death they took care of nothing but sepulture, which of old was much regarded; wherefore each carreyed his winding sheet wrapped around his head and then with the loss of their own lives saved their fellowes: whereupon for an honourable memorial of that exploit the Levantines used to wrap white Linnen about their heads and the fashion so derived upon the Turke." Thus in 1650 there was a tradition of pre-Turkish head-wraps.

Head-wraps are commonly worn by many men of the East and of the Mediterranean coast of Africa. Some—the Tuaregs—cover the whole face. It is not unlikely that in the past head-wraps and veils were to protect the ear as well as the mouth and nose. That the ear is a danger-spot is shown by the numerous earrings worn to protect it from the Evil Eye, and the dingle-dangles hanging over the ear from the cap.

5. IRON

B 176 178 The Balkans within historic times have not been the centre of production or invention. Neither the Slav, who destroyed the civilization Rome had begun to implant, nor the Turk, who in turn conquered him, added anything of value to the world's store of resources. Both inherited a good deal from Byzantium, but originated nothing.

B 172 But in prehistoric times Bosnia was one of the great centres of the iron trade, and probably one of the very early ones. Iron ore in an easily smelted form, and great forests side by side, together with their own brains and energy, enabled these unknown people, some six or eight centuries before our era, to develop and spread the use of the

Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

new metal and so give an impulse to the vast iron industry upon which B 172
the whole of our present material civilization is based. But into this
prehistory we cannot now enter. The epoch-making discoveries of the
Austrian experts attached to the Serajevo Museum require a volume
to themselves, and can be studied in the volumes of the *Wissenschaftliche
Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*. In his *Voyage en Bosnie*,
1807–1808, Chaumette-des-Fossés says: "The mines which abound in H 316
this country would become under another government an inexhaustible 172
source of wealth. . . . That which has always contributed to the
wealth of Bosnia and, at the present time, has become its principal
branch of industry are the numerous iron mines. The most considerable
are near Foinitza and Cressevo. They employ more than two thousand
workers, of whom one-third are Catholics and the rest gipsies." According
to this report the Orthodox Serbs did not work in the mines. A

Iron being such a very ancient Balkan industry, it is strange to find H
that the bulk of the Balkan populations still consider iron-working as 316
most degrading. When I travelled, the tide of foreign blue-enamelled 554
ironware was only beginning to set in, and iron was still worked almost 326
entirely by gipsies a-squat in ramshackle sheds on the outskirts of the
towns of Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Albania, who, with most
primitive anvil, hammer, and bellows, forged the horseshoes, hobbles,
chains, ploughshares, fish-tridents, dentistry forceps, nails, and hooks
commonly used by the peasants. Everyone bought their ware, and
everyone looked on the gipsy as beneath contempt.

Respectable people, both Serb and Albanian, could make copper
pots or cut up old petroleum canisters and fashion tin pots and other
articles of them. No one who valued his reputation could hammer iron.

In 1907 I was Commissioner for Montenegro at the Balkan States M
Exhibition at Earl's Court, and took the Montenegrins who then came 648
over for their first walk to see the shops. None of them had ever left 114
their native land before. We stopped outside a large hardware shop 186
in the Brompton Road, and the two men examined every tool and
pot in the window. They then glanced inside. I shall never forget
their contempt when they saw that the men behind the counter
were not, as they expected, "tsrni tziganini" (black gipsies) but
English.

"What!" cried the elder in horror, "Englishmen making and
selling iron things!" He thought, of course, they made the goods they
were selling. "I had rather see my son dead than see him sink so
low as this! The English! By God, they are no better than Black
Gipsies."

M
And, until we arrived at Whitehall and saw the Horse Guards, nothing 186
would make him modify his opinion that the English were a "pogan

Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

M 186 narod" (unclean or depraved race). The gorgeous uniform of the Guards cheered him, and he asked if it were possible to enlist in the regiment and if the pay were good. But to the end of his stay he never forgot those Englishmen who sold iron pots. He left with the poorest idea of England and the English, and when I met him four years afterwards, as a gendarme at Podgoritza, he again referred with disgust to this unpleasant British habit.

M 174 326 But the name Kovatchevitch (son of a smith) is sufficiently common among persons who do not appear to be of gipsy origin.

As the working of iron was highly developed by the pre-Slav inhabitants of the Balkans, it is possible that it remained in their hands after the Slav invasion and was looked on as especially the task for the vanquished.

The smith in mediæval days had none too safe a position, if we may judge by the way the Serb hero, Marko Kralyevitch, treated Novak the Smith (Vuk Karadjitch, *Narodne Pesme*, vol. ii, Marko i Musa Kesedjija):—

H [588] "Marko hied him to Novak the Smith. 'Forge me a sword, O Novak, such as never before thou hast forged!' And Marko gave him thirty ducats and rode away to the new wineshop. For three or four days drank he wine and back went he then to Novak.

" 'Hast forged me the sword, O Novak?' And Novak brought him the sword and said softly: 'Here are the sword and the anvil. See what a sword it is!' Marko swung up the sword in his right hand and struck it upon the anvil and cleft the anvil in twain, saying: 'So help thee God, Novak the Smith, hast ever forged a better?'

"And Novak answered: 'So help me God, Kralyevitch Marko, a better one have I forged, and for a better warrior. Such a sword forged I for Musa the Albanian that when he struck it upon the anvil not a scrap of the anvil was left whole.'

"Then was Marko angered. 'Hold out thy hand, Novak,' cried he, 'that I may pay thee for the sword.'

"Then Novak betrayed himself. The serpent bit him" (i.e. misfortune seized him). "He thrust out his right hand. Marko swung his sword and smote off his arm at the shoulder. 'Look thee now, Novak, thou shalt never forge a better nor a worse! Here are a hundred ducats to keep thee the rest of thy life!' And he mounted his horse and rode away."

H 721 175 326 When Marko Kralyevitch lived, at the end of the fourteenth century, the Serb Empire of Dushan was falling to pieces. The Albanians were shaking off Serb rule. Musa was the famous Albanian chieftain whose name survives in the Musakija, the plain lands in South Albania. Novak the Smith clearly sympathized rather with Musa than with

Historical Yugoslavia EF2

Montenegrins

H 721

the Serb chieftain. Maybe Novak was by race one of the "under-dogs" 175
of the old Serb Empire—a serf or slave. 326

In a Montenegrin ballad, dictated to me by Krsto and which I do M
not know in print, the smith again appears as low caste. Milosh of 836
Drobnjak bids his sister take his brown horse to be shod by Suljo the 554
Gipsy. Suljo refuses to do so unless he may kiss her. Milosh rides away on the unshod horse, and on his return rode to Suljo's. "When Suljo saw him he was afeared. He took his cap in his left hand, and in his right, the hammer and tongs to shoe Milosh's brown horse. But Milosh smote the gipsy with his sword. Though he struck him but lightly, he cleft him in twain. And thus spoke Milosh: 'Well, Suljo! Dost wish to kiss my sister now?' "

The smith was low class and of another race.

How different from these benighted ideas are those of our higher civilization. It is universally recognized that the making and selling of machines for killing the people over the border is the most honourable
of trades. Far from being classed as a Black Gipsy, the armament H
dealer receives a title, and can marry anybody's daughter. M A

But a fear or dislike of iron has been widespread. When one considers 784
its great usefulness and the ages it has been in use, it is incomprehensible 721
that the idea it was uncanny should have been so persistent. No iron tool, we are told, was used in building the Temple at Jerusalem. Iron might not be used to repair the Pons Sublicius at Rome. Roman priests had to shave with bronze, not iron razors. The uncanny properties of magnetic iron and the rooted dislike of the human race for innovations are not enough to account for it; and it appears that this dread of iron was transferred to the workers of it and long clung to them.

I found the uncanny power of iron still recognized in the Balkans. M
Iron drives off evil spirits. When I was living in Montenegro many 777
a "junak" (hero) who boasted freely of his courage did not like passing 775
a graveyard at night. That cheeriest of boasters, Krsto, was hurt when I told him such fear was not compatible with "junashtvo." If obliged to pass such places after dark he thought it indispensable to carry a knife. This was not meant for stabbing the ghost. Oh, no! He would have run away at its first appearance. It was to keep the ghost off. In fact, the necessary piece of iron. One would have thought the revolver every man carried had iron enough to frighten any ghost. Not at all. A knife it must be. This, no doubt, because the belief dates from many centuries before the invention of fire-arms, to the days when a knife was the handiest piece of portable iron; and ever since then it
has remained the recognized protector. A

In North Albania a shovel or hoe was always left in a grave until 764

Montenegrins EF5
Turkey MB1
Serbs EF6

A 764 the body was laid in it, in order to prevent any devil lurking there to seize the dead.

I remember waiting by the tiny grave dug for a child at Thethi Shala in the graveyard. Someone tripped over the long protruding handle of the shovel and dislodged it. The old gravedigger dashed forward and replaced it at once, and drew it out only as the little corpse was lowered. The Franciscan, an Albanian, who stood by the graveside, acquiesced. "It is the custom," he said when questioned. Possibly, like the rest of us, he could not keep demons at bay unaided.

M A 776 777 778 Iron keeps off all spirits, good and bad, it appears; for no knife must touch the fowl's breast-bone or sheep's blade-bone in which the Albanian and Montenegrin soothsayers read the future. No one can tell you why; but everyone knows it would be the height of folly to try to read a bone that has been cleaned with a knife—it would not tell the truth.

A 726 Colonel Aubrey Herbert, that friend of the Turks and Albanians, whose untimely death has left an unfillable gap, gave me a curious instance of the belief in the magic of iron. During the Balkan war of 1913 the Turkish general, Djavid Pasha, retreated with what was left of his army into South Albania, where "he occupied the house of a friend of mine. The tide of war was running fiercely against the Turks and the general wanted to consult the spirits. The family carpenter was ordered to make a three-legged table without any nails in it—T 778 775 'for the spirits hate metal,' said Djavid. The young Turks invoked the spirit of Nazim Pasha, who had been shot by Enver and his friends. . . . When no answer came, the absent ghost of Nazim was cursed for refusing to give information."

Even the absence of iron could not induce the spirit of the murdered man to advise his murderers.

6. HAIR. SOME BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH IT

A 121 In many lands much mystery surrounds hair, that strange substance that grows continually from youth to age; which is part of the person, but can be cut off without pain and is, therefore, the most convenient substitute or symbol for the whole person.

S 754 By means of hair spells can be wrought even in an electric-lighted European capital. Draga Mashin, the mistress of the luckless young King Alexander Obrenovitch, forced him to marry her and make her queen by clipping some of her hair in little bits and mixing it with appropriate spells in his food. Having thus eaten a portion of her, he was hopelessly in her power. At least, so we were assured by one of

Byzantine Civilization EH3
Hellenic Greece EH5
Serbs EF6

the Serbian *intelligentsia*, formerly Minister at the Court of St. James's. S 754 Possibly the belief that Draga dabbled in witchcraft was one reason why the populace cheerfully acquiesced in her murder. Near-Eastern politics are more often swayed by old-world beliefs than some folk are aware of.

By chance one night in Krsto's hut I learnt that the ancient rite of A 852 dedication by hair is part of the Orthodox baptismal ceremony. I was [302] showing my folding pair of nail-scissors when Pope Gjuro exclaimed A in admiration that they were just the thing for clipping hair at baptisms. S Old Gjuro himself, of course, wore a beard, and his unclipped locks 121 flowed on his shoulders. Hair, as we have seen, can be used to work grievous harm. "The simplest way of avoiding this peril," says Sir James George Frazer, "is not to cut the hair at all." Samson's strength lay in 8 his hair. Kings, medicine-men, and others who were very holy, have 302 gone unshorn, and so to this day do the priests of the Orthodox Church, 554 the direct descendants of the priests of pre-Christian cults. Firmicus (Julius Maternus) wrote the *Errors of Religion* about A.D. 350, and described "men who stay in temples in an unkempt state, and walk abroad thus and never cut their hair, and who would announce something to men as if said by gods." Firmicus was a Sicilian and had, doubtless, been taught by Rome, for he did not connect holiness with hairiness as did Byzantium.

One of the many bitter complaints brought against the Church of Rome by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Byzantium (1043–58), was that Latin clerks shave the beard. So abhorrent did this practice seem to the Byzantine that he refused the Communion to shaven clerks. Thus a deep-rooted belief in the magic power of hair was one of the several odd reasons which helped to split the Church and ultimately affect the fate of Europe.

Rome, not given to haggling over unimportant details, did not and does not object to moustachioed and bearded priests should local custom prefer them. The Orthodox Church makes no exceptions. In the more civilized lands the Orthodox pope now likes to twist his locks into a "bun" pinned up under his high hat when he is not officiating. But up-country I have seen strange popes whose tangled black locks streamed in the wind, and whose faces were muffled to the eyes in beard that had never been profaned by steel: wild men of the mountains with knife and revolver in belt.

Hair-cutting as a dedication of the person is an old Balkan rite. H 302 Daremburg and Saglio, in the *Dictionnaire d'Antiquités*, figure a marble 782 slab found in Thessaly, on which are carven two neat pigtails, "offered to Poseidon by the sons of Dumachos," says the inscription. In a storm hair would thus be cut off and thrown overboard with the hope that

Hellenic Greece EH5
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

H
302 Poseidon would kindly accept it as substitute for the body. In this
782 case evidently he did so.

G
302
852 The Orthodox Church, too, dedicates the child, after immersion and unction, by "clipping off four locks of hair as sign of the Cross, the pope saying: 'The servant of God is shorn in the name of God.' The pieces of hair are mixed with some wax from the candle and dropped into the font by the child's father" (Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Roman Church*). The hair, no doubt, is dropped into the holy water to save it from being used for spells by some wicked person.

My friend Mr. Stroud Read, who has lived much in Greece, tells me that there is a tendency there now to omit the hair-cutting from baptism, the pope sometimes refusing to have it done in church, but that it is done, nevertheless, by the laity at home after returning from the church. Someone is invited to be hair-cutter, and the clippings are dropped into a pan of hot charcoal.

M
852
582
608 The two ceremonies were formerly separate ones in Montenegro. Pope Gjuro told me there used to be two kumstvos (sponsorships): Shishano Kumstvo (shearing kumstvo), and Mokro (wet) or Krsteno Kumstvo (baptism). The former, as a separate kumstvo, is now extinct. It used to carry with it spiritual relationship and prevent the intermarriage of the direct descendants of the sponsor and those of the child's father for several generations. The marriage circle was thus further restricted and drove folk farther afield in search of a wife. Medakovitch, describing the ceremony as done by the laity between 1840 and 1850, says it was done some time after baptism. Three locks were cut in the name of the Trinity and thrown on the dunghill. At that time the ceremony did not form an obstacle to marriage.

A
852
[174] About three years after my nail-scissors had become an ecclesiastical implement I learnt in the Albanian mountains what is probably the most complete form in which the ceremony now survives. It is performed habitually by both Moslems and Christians. The Catholic priests try to suppress this pagan practice, which, nevertheless, their flock considers quite as important as baptism and even more so. A careful study of those pagan practices adopted by one Church and abhorred by the other might throw light on the centres or origin of such practices.

A
852
608 In North Albania the "kumpare i floksh" (sponsor of hair) is chosen when the child is about two years old. He is a man with whom the head of the house wishes to be related. The family being assembled out of doors, the kumpare (conpatrem, compère) sits down on the ground, and first takes another child on his knees to ensure that his "hair child" shall not be the last his parents have. He then takes his "hair child," whose hair as yet has never been cut, and snips off four locks of hair

Great Russians RF2

to the four quarters of the heavens—north, south, east, and west. A 852
These locks are at once destroyed. Handsome gifts are then exchanged, 608
the kumpare giving sometimes as much as two or three gold napoleons, and receiving some embroidered garments or the elaborately patterned knitted socks which are favourite ceremonial gifts. A great feast, of course, follows. The child's father and the kumpare are now brothers, A
and their children are not intermarriageable till the seventh degree. [592]
In olden days I was assured they were never intermarriageable, and ranked exactly as consanguines. Near Scutari this prohibition had lapsed altogether. Among the Pulati and Dukagini it was still believed in. At Thethi Shala in 1908 a man rushed into the church to stop a marriage on the ground that the parties were cousins by hair-cutting. The Franciscan who was officiating refused to recognize the impediment and married the couple. Whereupon the outraged tribesman ran hot-foot to the Bishop of Pulati and denounced the Franciscan for having celebrated an incestuous marriage. The bishop refused to listen to him. He and his friends then hastened to Scutari, and begged the Turkish Vali to denounce the marriage. The Vali said he did not care whom the Christians married. The bridegroom belonged to a very strong house and so was not molested, and the matter dropped.

The Moslems cut but three locks of hair because four makes a cross, whereas a triangle is a popular Moslem pattern (*v.* Tattoos). But the Montenegrin, as we have seen, cut three for the Holy Trinity.

The clipping of the four locks out of doors to the four quarters of the heavens has all the appearance of being a dedication to the sun. Sun-worship, as we have seen, was widely spread in the Balkans. When we find this ceremony considered of high importance in the very district where sun and moon symbols are still commonly carved and tattooed, we are tempted to connect them. That the rite is ancient and pre-Christian cannot be doubted.

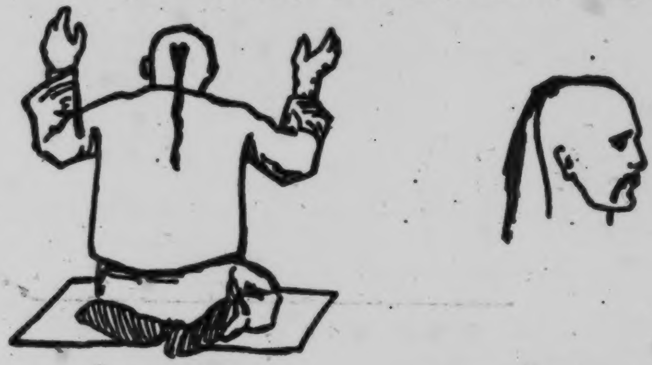
The Catholic Church strives to suppress the notion of "hair-cutting A
incest." The Orthodox Church, by admitting hair-cutting as part of [779]
the baptismal ceremonial, has perpetuated it; for baptismal godfatherhood prohibits the marriage of descendants of either party till the seventh degree. "Hair-cutting incest," therefore, prohibits marriage between the descendants of the Duke of York and the Karageorgevitch, for the papers were careful to inform us that locks of hair were duly clipped when the Duke and Duchess of York acted as godparents to the heir to the Serbian throne. Their Royal Highnesses took part in a pagan ceremony of unknown antiquity. You can never tell what a Balkan alliance will let you in for.

The hair-cutting in the Russian baptism is probably an importation 6 852
from Byzantium, as is also the unshorn priest. A deacon, on ordination,

Great Russians RF2
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

G
852 is shorn of four locks, but after becoming a holy man he goes unshorn. The most wonderful I met was a young monk at Zdrebanik Monastery,
M
792 Montenegro, whose well-combed flaxen hair fell to below his waist. His beard was equally fine. I remember, too, two "kalugers" whom we met on the Nikshitch road. They carried begging bowls and offered holy pictures for sale. They spoke no tongue anyone could understand, but their immense coal-black manes and beards showed them, as Krsto remarked, to be undoubtedly exceptionally holy.

S
782
764 Hair is also offered, as we have seen in the chapter on funerals, on graves. In Bosnia and the Herzegovina I saw tresses of hair hung along with rags, oranges, bread, etc., on the young tree or branch stuck at the head of most graves. In a lonely graveyard between Gorazhda and Chajnitza (1906) I saw what must have been some mourning woman's whole head of hair, waving and bleaching in the sun and wind from the head-post of a grave. Here the hair seems part of a purificatory rite.



PRAYING BOSNIAN CATHOLIC, [illegible]ITZA, 1907

SKETCH SHOWING THE PIGTAIL (PERCHIN)

FIG. 21

A
121 The Eastern belief in the magic of hair is shown in the book of Numbers vi. *et seq.*: "When a man or woman shall make a special vow to separate himself unto the Lord . . . all the days of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head . . . he shall be holy, he shall let the locks of his hair grow long. . . . All the days that he separateth himself unto the Lord he shall not come near to a dead body. . . . And if any man die very suddenly beside him and he defile the head of his separation, then he shall shave his head in the day of his cleansing. On the seventh day shall he shave it." St. Paul
S
M
(Acts xxi. 26) observed this ceremony.

302 In Bosnia, Serbia, and Montenegro, till very recently, most men

Historical Yugoslavia Erd

Turkish Greece EH2
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

S
M
wore the head shaven except for one long "perchin" (plaited pigtail). 302
It was still worn commonly in Bosnia in 1906. The Catholics at Jaitze
unrolled their head-wraps at the church door and went in looking H
singularly Chinese, with the long perchin which had been coiled 302
under the wrap hanging down. Lady Strangford in 1866 describes 171
the men of Sebenico in Dalmatia as wearing pigtails to the waist 175
decorated with tassels and ornaments.

A marvellous fine one must have been worn by the Hayduk near Zara, who is famous in ballads as Pletikosé Pavlo (Paul of the plaited hair).

King Nikola as a boy, I was told, wore the perchin.

Head-shaving was usual all through the Near East. Dr. Brown,
in his *Travels* in 1669, describes various head-shaves at Larissa: T
"The Barber would handsomely perform his work, trimming each [302]
man according to the fashion of his country.

"The Greeks have a place the size of a dollar left bare on the crown of the head, then let the hair grow round it the breadth of two fingers more or less, after which they shave the rest of the head and wear it bare.

"The Croatian hath one side of his head shorn, and the other neither cut nor shorn, but lets the hair grow as long as it will. The Hungarian shaves the whole head except the foretop. The Turk shaves the whole except the lock on his crown. The Francs shave not the head, but wear the hair as long as with us. The Greek priests neither shave nor cut the hair, but wear it so long as it will grow."

Y
In the interesting frescoes in the old Serbian church at Grachanitza,
St. Sava, first Metropolitan of Serbia, is depicted with a large tonsure, [302
showing that, though the Serbs were in communion with the Eastern 532
Orthodox Church, they did not adopt the fashion of the unshorn priest 776]
till a later date. Sava, though tonsured, wears a long beard. Serbia swayed irresolute for some time between the two Churches. Sava's father, Stefan Nemanya, Prince of Serbia, and the Serbian Synod of 1119 had declared "the most holy Roman Church the mother of all Churches." And in 1218, when Sava was made head of the Serbian Church, the Latins held Constantinople, and the Patriarch of Byzantium was in exile at Nicea.

Y
The importance of beards is shown in Stefan Dushan's Canon,
Law 97: "He who tears out the beard of a Vlastelin, or of a man of [683]
standing among the Serfs, shall have both hands cut off."

The Serbar (serf) in certain cases could be sentenced, in addition to flogging, to having his hair and beard burnt off as ultimate degradation.

John of Ephesus, writing about A.D. 584, gives an amusing threat of hair-cutting. He tells of the coming of the Avars, in the time of "the Emperor Justinian, who received their ambassadors with great

302 honour, and made them rich presents of gold and silver dresses, and
171 girdles and saddles decked with gold. . . . As often as they sent, so
175 often did he give them presents, imagining thus he would subdue his enemies, and the murmuring against him grew great on the part of

[532
769
212]

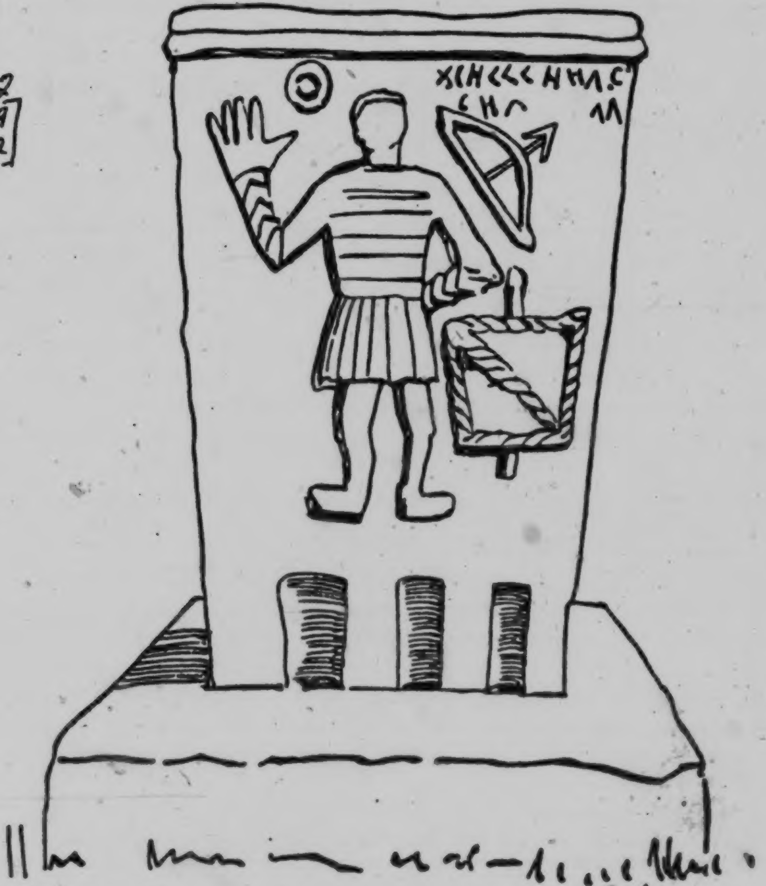


FIG. 22.—EARLY MEDIÆVAL BOSNIAN VOYVODINA ON TOMB AT STOLATZ, HERZEGOVINA

(Showing body armour and the fustanella.)

the senate and the people, who said: 'He is stripping the kingdom and giving it to the barbarians.' And when Justin, his sister's son, reigned in his stead, a troop of them came in the usual way. But Justin refused them presents, and when the Avars threatened him, he grew

Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13
Montenegrins EF5

H
angry and said: 'Do you dead dogs dare threaten the Roman realm? I will shave off those locks of yours and then cut off your heads.' 302 171

"He then imprisoned them for six months and released them terrified, and for some time the Avars submitted to Rome and gave no trouble." 175

The Nemanja kings, as seen on the frescoes at Dechani, all wore the moustache. Their beards are very small. The hair of the head is completely hidden by the crown.

To-day in the Balkans the beard is worn almost solely by the Orthodox priesthood and the Moslem dervishes and hodjas. Thus the holy men of both faiths observe the hair taboo. B 302

Laymen in all parts where the modern fashion of clean-shaving has not penetrated always wear the moustache. Perhaps vague memories of the days when the hair was burnt as ultimate disgrace haunt the mind, for the clean-shaven man, I found, was a creature condemned and despised. M A

In Krsto's hut I mentioned that my brother was clean-shaven, and the company, abashed, stared at their toes and were speechless. Then someone, deeply shocked, said: "No noble family will give him a wife." And kind old Pope Gjuro, wishing to be polite, said that such things might be done in London, but in Montenegro it was better not to speak of them. Whereupon the repulsive subject was dropped. 302 186 M

In both Albania and Montenegro a hairless man is called by the Turkish word "Chosé." Bald heads in both lands are very rare. I never saw more than a slight thinning on the top. A really bald, shining head is thought an awful thing. We were once discussing the American regulations for emigrants. A Montenegrin who had been to America angrily denounced the injustice of the health inspectors at the landing-place. "I myself," he cried, "saw them allow a man with no hair on the top of his head—a most horrible sight—to pass. And they stopped a poor boy who had only a few little bare spots on his head and said he was diseased!" A 183 554 186 H

In old Serbian ballads the hero's moustache is his glory. Mighty fine were these warriors. 538 554 302

And there came five horsemen clad in black;
At their head rode a hero upon a raven steed.
His black moustachios reached below his shoulders
And hung to the pistols in his sash.
His breastplate ("toké") glittered through his moustachios
As doth the moon when fifteen days old
Shine through the branches of a fir-tree.
Lo and behold, O my brother Mujo!
Next to them come three horsemen
Clad in white cloth and riding upon greys.
At their head is a warrior on a grey steed,
And his fair moustachios reach to his shoulders, etc.

Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 538 554 302 And so they follow on, each matching his horse to his immense moustache. As Krsto used to say with a sigh, "One does not see such sights nowadays."

H 764 It is noteworthy that the warriors carved on the mediaeval gravestones of Bosnia show no hair either on face or head. The work is very rude and shows no features either (Fig. 22).

A 302 In Albania, too, the moustache is very precious. My old friend Marko cherished a fine one. When he was young he declared he could easily tie its ends behind his head—the true test, he said, for a moustache.

A 776 In the fairy tales he used to tell, the villain was a "Choseé," a hairless man. They were always abominably wicked, he said.

554 The British Navy lost its prestige when clean-shaven officers appeared in Scutari in 1913.

A 302 293 554 When Marko was young and his moustache in its prime, he was kavass to the Turkish Embassy in Vienna, wore a gold-embroidered Albanian dress, and cut such a gallant figure that no less a person than one of the Rothschilds noticed him. The wealthy Jew asked the poor Albanian to quit Turkish service and be doorkeeper at the Rothschild palace. The salary offered was beyond Marko's wildest imagination. "I thought I should be a rich man," said he, "but the dog—yes, he was a dog—he told me his servants were clean-shaven and I must cut off my moustache. My moustache that I could tie behind my head! I said that not for all the gold of the Rothschilds would I cut it off." So Marko was never rich, and was never tired of telling of the insult.

So great is the respect for the moustache that the Catholic Church humours her Albanian flock, and bishops, abbots, and secular priests all wear the finest moustaches they can grow.

A [793] "If an Italian or Austrian comes here as a missionary," said a young Albanian Franciscan to me, roaring with laughter, "we shut him up till he's grown a decent moustache. It would be useless to send him to a mountain parish without one; they would hunt him out."

A 302 A great variety of head-shaves is found among both men and women of the Albanian mountains. The Catholic married women of Maltsia e Madhe shave the forehead and temples, and dye the hair black on marriage, and make their face look very large. A similar fashion is to be seen in many early Italian portraits of ladies. The Mirdite women and some of the allied groups wear a fringe over the forehead and do not dye the hair. The men of Maltsia e Madhe shave a great part of the head, and leave either one great lump on the top or two big side A 292 tufts; or they shave the back and leave the front. The temples are usually shaved, even by Scutarenes, who wear European dress.

Historical Yugoslavia EF3

Serbs EF6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

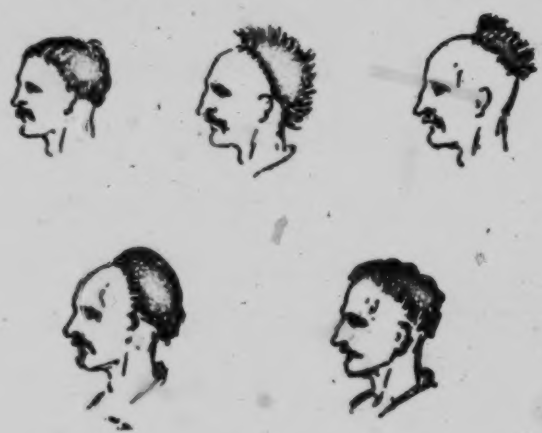
In the Pulati mountains the head is often shaved, except for the A 302
perchin.

In olden days a boy did not rank as a male till his head had been A
shaved. This was not done till after the ceremony of the first hair-cutting, 302 554
described above. When once shaved he could be killed for blood- 885
vengeance as male blood of the tribe.

Mothers would defer the head-shave if they could for a year or
two in consequence, but it was a practice not approved of.

The heads of both girls and boys are shaved in the mountains, A 302
and a fringe is left over the girl's forehead.

When I was in Kosovo vilayet in 1908 I found that among the S
scattered Serbian peasants the heads of both girls and boys were 302
shaved. Both had a perchin, and the girls a fringe over the forehead.
So soon as the girl was betrothed her hair was allowed to grow. In the S 584
rare case of her remaining unmarried I was told she would keep her 554
head shaved.



A [302]

FIG. 23.—VARIETIES OF ALBANIAN HEAD-SHAVES

In the Albanian mountains, where the girls were betrothed as A 584
children, I found the hair was not allowed to grow till they were 302
marriageable.

Wood-ash and water in the mountains is the usual shaving mixture. A
Even in civilized places methods were sometimes barbaric. I watched H
a barber, who stood at the gates of Ragusa on a market-day, inviting 302
incoming peasants to indulge in a shave before entering the town.
The patient sat cross-legged on the ground. The barber gripped his
head between his knees, spat freely on the razor blade, and set to work.

Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Bulgaria EE1

A
H
302 The results seemed quite as good as those achieved by the most advertised shaving creams.

Head-washing in old days was a purificatory ceremony. The Roman women, says Plutarch, washed their heads on Diana's day, August 13th. What a pity head-washing has not been made part of Bank Holiday ritual.

8
515
302 The only head-washing ceremonial I met within the Balkans was at Ochrida, where the Bulgar women all washed their heads on the last day of Carnival. My landlady appeared without her sham pigtails and with her head dripping. She was deeply shocked to find me dry-headed. All the women at the refugee hospital I worked at were also wet-headed. The meaning of the ceremony was the renunciation of cleanliness during Lent. But I fear most of them regarded it as a penance, and so far as head-washing was concerned kept Lent all the year round.

One poor woman whose only son had been killed as a Komitadji had formally renounced washing of every kind as a sign of mourning for the rest of her life. It was a genuine expression of everlasting grief, and she was greatly respected for it.

Even so did Queen Isabella of Spain vow not to change her linen, and so gave her name to a colour. A light dun horse in France is still called "Isabelle."

FAREWELL

So far we have traced ancient life in Balkan corners. Much yet remains to be told—of dwellings and of manner of life; of costume, of the hearth, of tools, boats, and implements; of tales and fables: but our tale is already long enough, and the rest must be left for another day.

Historical Yugoslavia EF2

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ALBANIA
YESTERDAY AND TODAY

By

BARON MARCELLUS D. A. R. von REDLICH, LL. D., Ph. D., D. Litt.

1936

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HIS MAJESTY KING ZOG I

KING OF THE ALBANIANS

p. iii

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HER MAJESTY THE LATE QUEEN MOTHER

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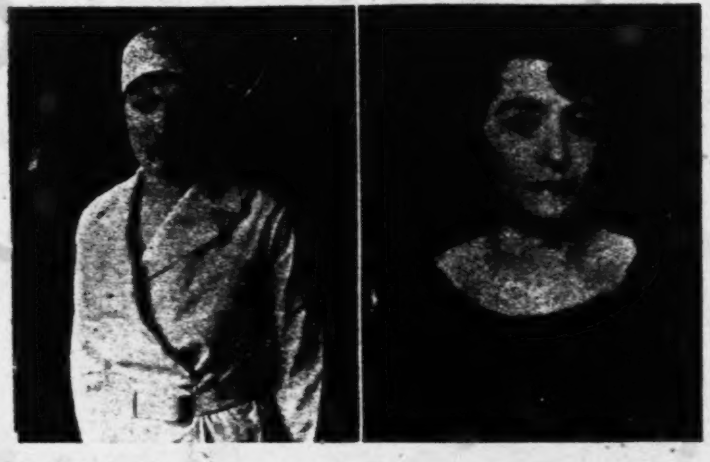
Sisters of His Majesty King Zog I



RIGHT TO LEFT:

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS NAFIE AND HER IMPERIAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS SENIE

p.vi(a)

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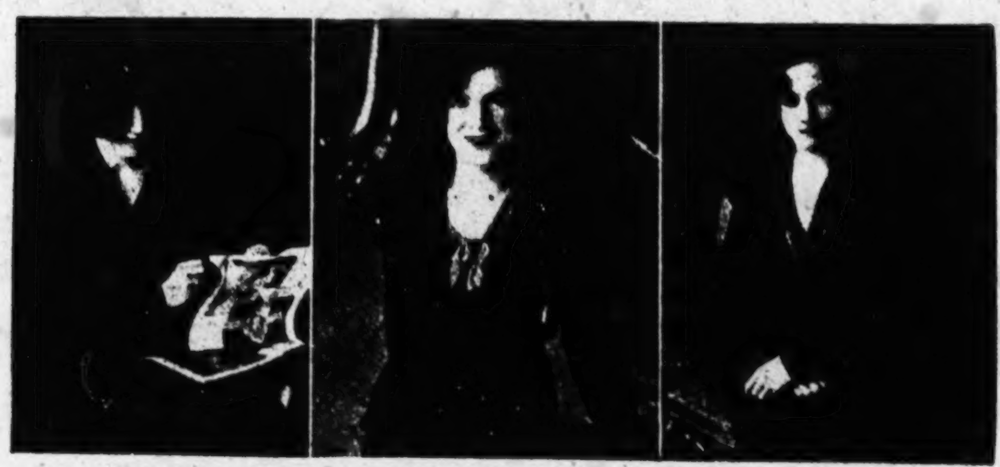
Gill

p.vi(b)

Sisters of His Majesty King Zog I



RIGHT TO LEFT:

THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES PRINCESS RUHIE (RUHIJE). PRINCESS MAXHIDE (MADJIDE) AND PRINCESS MUZEJEN (MYZEJEN).

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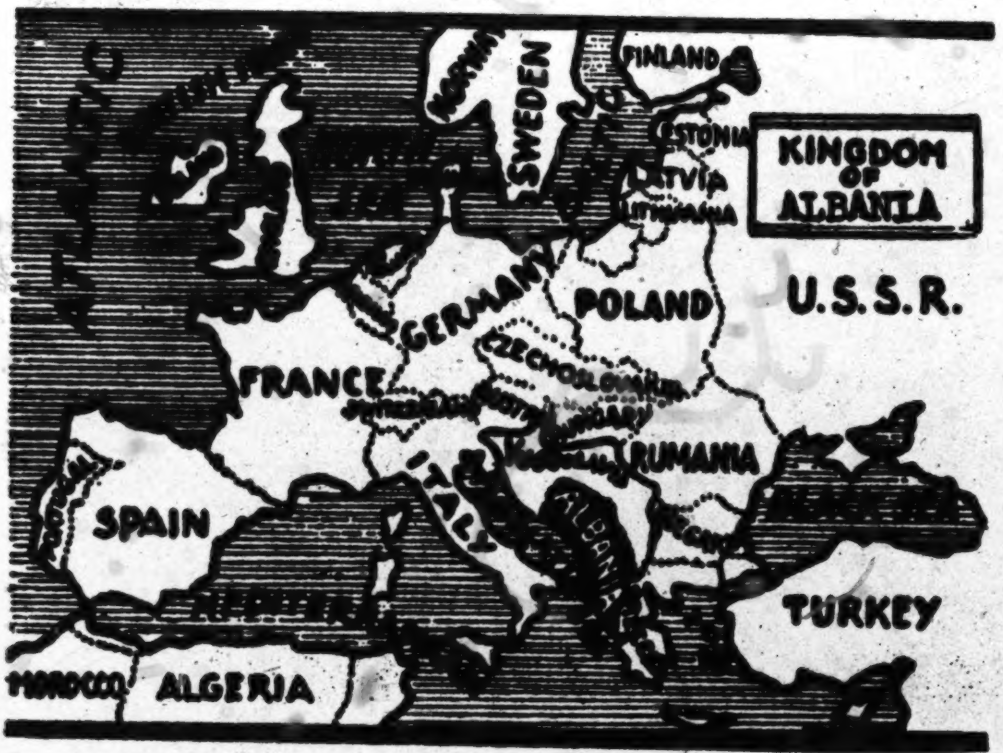
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KINGDOM OF ALBANIA
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
ITALY
ALBANIA
SPAIN
TURKEY
ALGERIA
MOROCCO

ALBANIA'S LOCATION IN EUROPE

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Preface

121 There are some people today who contend that a detailed history of a country is too lengthy, too tedious and too statistical to hold the interest of the reader whose object is to gain a broad and not-too-complicated outline of a nation's history. Therefore, within these pages it has been the author's sincere endeavour to write the history of the Kingdom of Albania in such a manner as to include not only the major events but also the steps which were influential in their making. In this way the highlights in Albania's history have been chronicled in a brief, but not minimized aspect. Thus it is to be hoped that the reader will gain a clear and and coherent view into a unique nation which is of great interest as well as importance to the world, not only because of its strategic position but also on account of all that Albania has to offer of worldly goods, as there are few who know the intimate details of its making. While this book is full of

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precise historical data, condensed as much as possible, the author, prompted by a desire to present a clear and true picture, has also written of the country and the people and their distinctive customs.

In addition to the historical information herein contained, the author has given personal impressions of the country: the originality of the people, the vivid and wild beauty of the mountainous regions, the peacefulness of the countryside emphasized by waving fields of green, the memorially historical spots, marked with ruins, where history has been made in the ceaseless flow of time, the progressive spirit of the towns, the advantages of location and many such intimate bits of information that will add interest and charm for the reader who finds great advantage in striding through strange and fascinating lands in seven-league boots!

THE AUTHOR

October 1, 1936.

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Introduction

It has been evident for some time past that foreign business and travel circles have been insufficiently informed of the general conditions in the Kingdom of Albania. This has mainly been due to the lack of literature on Albania in foreign languages. This book will endeavor to fill this gap.

The rapid exhaustion of the last book, "Unconquered Albania", written by the author in 1935, is the best proof that such a book supplied a definite need, but even so the number of the books published was insufficient to satisfy the demands of an interested reading public, therefore, the present book "Albania Yesterday and Today" has been prepared more completely and with additional information.

The writer, after attempting to assimilate that mountain of literature written on the question of the Balkans and Albania, feels that he has succeeded in bringing out of the maze something true and just in its representation of existent facts.

000 One finds no place quite so romantic as Albania in Southeastern Europe. No country has successively, from century to century, furnished the battleground for the Balkans, as has Albania. We have writers who tell us there is no form of culture or education in Albania; they would have people believe that the ancient Epirots and the Illyrians are today savages, in approximately the same state of civilization as were certain north European tribes before the Roman conquests centuries ago. And still another group of writers, deeply obsessed by nationalism, has tried to prove why this or that nation should have control of Albania. They endeavor to put every other force in its worst light and convince us that a world has banded together to drag Albania down to annihilation.

We wish to call the attention of the reader to the fact that Albania has kept pace, in spite of her numerous invasions, with the rise of learning and culture in continental and central Europe and that she gave to the world men who were able not only to make an excellent record for themselves, but likewise to take their place in the world of affairs, as recognized leaders of thought and action along 000 with men of other nations.

Down through the centuries Albania's greatest scourge has been the fact that she was constantly used as the stage for the warplay of Southeastern Europe. It is hardly necessary for us to say that no one who has lived through the last quarter of a century and kept abreast of the world affairs needs to be told of the treacheries, frauds, as well as the cold-blooded brutality and cruelty, which, in Europe, certain States have used against States in order to gain possession of Albania.

At the outset, however, we think it well to impress upon the mind of the reader the thought that the Albanians are the only "Condottieri" left in Europe at the present time. They have been known and denoted by various names down through the ages, but, perhaps, the one term best descriptive of their life and tradition is *Shqipëtar*—Son of the Eagle.

Also, it is most important to remember that these people have behind them a glorious history of national development and a rather enviable heritage of folklore only partially known to the rest of the world. This the

000 author will attempt to set forth.

It is a strange paradox, therefore, that this nation should have been the veritable greed of other nations of Europe. It is most unfortunate, indeed, that their history, their customs, and their traditions should have been lost to the world in the din of battle and the spilling of blood. Even now, when a unified Albania—under a most able leader, His Majesty Zog I, King of the Albanians—strives for their well-deserved glorious future, the forces of viciousness are going about and maintaining veritable propaganda of malicious untruths concerning the Kingdom of Albania.

121 The purpose of the present work is to give a clear, complete and truthful outline of Albania's ancient and modern history, present-day conditions, climatic facts, roads, mountains, thermal and health springs, educational work, cities, industry, tourism and allied subjects. In a word, all information that could possibly be of interest to the historian, the archaeologist, the tourist, the businessman and those who read for the purpose of learning more about all corners of the earth.

Ancient Albania

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THE Albanians, or *Shqipëtars*,[1] as they rightfully call themselves, inhabit the territory covered by ancient Epirus and the country of the Illyrians, a country extending from the old Montenegro on the north to the Gulf of Arta, or Ambracia, on the south, and from the coast of the Adriatic on the west to the central chain of the Pindus Mountains on the east, or, in other words, Albania is situated on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, southwest of Yugoslavia and north of Greece. Therefore, Albania is a Balkan country, not only because of her position, but principally by reason of her geographical characteristics, for the greater part of her area consists of the Balkan mountain ranges and her rivers belong to the same river system of the Balkan peninsula. Epirus is wild, mountainous and scenic; in fact, is the veritable Switzerland of the Balkans abounding in valleys of exceptional beauty and fertility.

000 The ancient Epirots were as distinct from

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[1] [i.e., Sons of Eagle; see Category 116, p. xv -- Analyst]

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Ancient Albania

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

144 The ancient Epirots were as distinct from the Hellenes as the Albanians are from the modern Greeks. The Greek writers of ancient times referred to them as a Pelasgic race, or, in other words, the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country.

The Pelasgian Zeus has his memory, even today, in their language, for we find the Albanian word for God is "Zoti." A minute's examination of the term "Gheg" and "Tosk", reveals that they are identical with "Truscus" or "Etruscus," while the form "Tyrrhenus" perhaps survives in Tirana, the capital of the Kingdom of Albania, as no other explanation for the derivation of the name of the city can be found.

618 619 These Pelasgians formed a cluster of rude, rough, highland clans, very similar to those of the Highlanders of Scotland a hundred and fifty years ago, brave, illiterate and essentially barbarian in character. Oftimes these clans and tribes were banded together in an independent government of a tribal sort. They even went farther and coalesced into little 175 kingdoms of greater or lesser extent. In the times of the successor of Alexander the Great, Epirus made considerable progress in civilization, and its kings exerted no small degree

of influence in the affairs of state of Eastern 175 Europe. Pyrrhus, one of the last of these kings, was a man of the greatest ability and made an illustrious name for himself because of his learning and his statescraft, and, moreover, augmented the glory of his nation by reason of his executive ability. Among the bravest of brave, Pyrrhus did not hesitate to cross the Adriatic to aid in the defense of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, Magna Craecia; neither did he hesitate to grapple with the rising power of Rome, and as a result, winning a prominent place for himself among the great commanders of the world.

In the year 168 before Christ, the Romans wreaked a terrible vengeance on Epirus, destroying seven towns and reducing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants to slavery. This was the only time in the history of the race that the Epirots were ever thoroughly sudbued. But even the Roman conquest 177 wrought little change in their social customs. They still retained their own language, national customs and usages, and withal, remained a distinct and peculiar people.

The question as to whether the Albanians 144 are genuine Epirots and Illyrians or a new 197 people formed by large and repeated infusions

144 of barbarians from the north has been very
197 much discussed. It was finally decided, upon evidence furnished by their language, which has been definitely determined a true representative of the ancient Illyrian, that the Albanians are the direct descendants of these ancient people, the Epirots and the Illyrians, who were neighbors and kindred tribes speaking different dialects of the same language; though, perhaps through the course of the ages, the Albanians may have become mingled, especially in the north, with other foreign elements.

144 Some ethnologists and students of the race and language declare with certainty that the Illyrian is one of the aboriginal races of Europe and that, if the term "Pelasgi" was ever used to designate a particular people, this must have been the race to which it referred. There is definite proof that their numerous tribes extended far into the north, even beyond the Danube, and this leads us to surmise rightfully that the Illyrians were the first branch of the Indo-European race to settle in Europe and were there long before the time of the Celts.

The old division between the Epirots and

the Illyrians has its modern counterpart in the 144
marked distinction between the Northern and Southern Albanians. For, as is brought to the attention of the traveller through Albania, there is a most evident dissimilarity between these two peoples. Yannina, or, more correctly speaking, Ioannina, was the capital of Epirus, while Scutari—in Albanian language Shkodra—was the seat of the Northern Province.

In the course of her long history, Albania 177
has been invaded by countless civilized, half- 175
civilized and barbaric peoples. The Greeks colonized a part of the Illyrian seaboard probably in the latter half of the seventh century. The most important of these settlements were Epidamnus (Durazzo or Durrës in Albanian language) and Salona (near Spalato). Greek inscriptions and pottery have been excavated by archaeologists. However, Greek influence never penetrated into the interior. These colonies were superceded by the Latins about three hundred years before Christ. The Spartans and Athenians were the next to come into conflict with the Illyrians. In the beginning of the fourth century the Celts invaded Albania. The Gauls, the Goths, the Romans, the Slavs, the Venetians, and, finally, the Turks

Ancient Albania

177 175 successively invaded and obtained, for a time at least, a mastery over Albanian territory. But, watching the parade of the centuries down the corridors of time, we note with admiration that always Albania drove out or assimilated her invaders; perhaps conquered but invincible in her national individuality. So powerful the characteristics, so indelible the traditions, so adamant the customs, so appreciated the language of the Albanians that no remnant, not even the slightest trace of the numerous invasions can be found in Albanian life today.

000 The Albanian people, then, present the unique and impressive phenomenon of a continuous national existence, which had its beginning many centuries before the coming of Christ and which has its integral life even at the present time.

Illyria

IN its beginning, the Kingdom of 131 Illyria comprised the actual territories of Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and northern and central Albania with a large part of modern Serbia. But in the course of its development, it extended all along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. Scutari was its capital just as it is now the capital of central and northern Albania. These boundaries were never clearly defined, and the name "Illyria" was ethnological rather than a geographical term. The older Greek historians wrote of "the Illyr- 101 ians" not so much as a solid people but in reference to those Illyrian tribes inhabiting the regions extending eastward from the Adriatic between Liburnia and Epirus. (The Latin name, "Illyricum," was not synonymous with Illyria, for it was a name applied to divisions of the Roman Empire, the boundaries of which were frequently changed and often included an area much greater than Illyria proper.)

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

*175 The earliest known ruler of Illyria was Hyllus (The Star), whose death was recorded in 1225 B. C.

Illyria, however, reached the zenith of its expansion and development in the fourth century before Christ, about 383 B. C., when Bardhyllus (White Star) united under his scepter Illyria, Molossia or Epirus and a large part of Macedonia. This amalgamation of the tribes of Illyria was due partly to the undesirable migrations of the aforementioned Celts. The decay began under the same ruler as a result of the attacks made on the country by Philip of Macedonia, father of Alexander the Great. On the victorious conclusion of the wars against Athens, Permenion, the Macedonian general, attacked and defeated the Illyrian forces between the lakes of Prespa and Ochrida, and recovered that part of Macedonia that had been annexed by Bardhyllus.

Alexander II, known as The Great (356-323 B. C.), King of Macedon, was the son of Philip of Macedon and Olympias, an Epirotic princess. Olympias was the sister of Alexander I, King of Epirus, who in a few years was brother-in-law, through Olympias, and son-in-

[1] [Errata; should be Presba. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 209, col 116--Analyst]

law of Philip of Macedon by reason of his marriage with Cleopatra (336 B. C.), the daughter of Philip by his second marriage. This caused Alexander I to be Alexander the Great's uncle as well as half-brother-in-law. In 337 B. C. Philip of Macedon repudiated Olympias for another wife, Cleopatra. Alexander the Great accompanied his mother to her Epirotic home, and though later he assumed reconciliation with his father, they were never intimate. 175*

Alexander the Great, on succeeding his father, continued the wars against the Illyrians. The Illyrian troops, under the command of Kleitos, son of Bardhyllus, were subdued and joined in the expedition against the Persians. The Illyrian troops comprised a formidable unit in the forces of the conqueror of the Persians and they shared in the triumph.

Upon the death of Alexander the Great, the Illyrians regained their freedom of action within their own domains, and in the year 232 B. C., the Illyrian Throne was occupied by the enterprising Queen Teuta. She brought the Romans in contact with the Balkans. The many destructive acts of her navy on the rising of commercial development forced the

175 Romans to declare war against her. A huge army and navy under the Roman consuls, Gaius Fulvius Santumalus and Lucius Postumius Alvinus, attacked the central section of Illyria, and after two years of bitter warfare, Queen Teuta, in the year 227 B. C., sued for peace, and a considerable part of Illyrian territories were[1] annexed by the conquerors.

The last ruler of Illyria was Gentius, who was taken as captive to Rome.

Henceforth, Illyria became a Roman dependency. The country was divided into three independent republics with the cities of Scutari, Durazzo and Dulcigno as the capitals.

Even after this division of territory Illyria remained a fiercely independent and powerful kingdom, and so remained until 180 B. C. when Dalmatia, attempting to follow Illyria's example, drew down the wrath of the Romans by proclaiming her independence. Hostilities began again in real earnest. Neither Gaius Marcius Figulus, in 156 B. C., nor Caecilius Metellius, in 119 B. C., were highly successful until Octavian himself took the field in 33 B. C. By this time the Illyrians were considerably involved and had suffered defeat when Octavian took command. Revolts fol-

[1] [Errata: should be was. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

ILLYRIA

lowed in 11 and 16 B. C. and in 6 and 9 A. D., 175x joined by the rebel Pannonians. Finally, Tiberius completely subjugated them in 9 A. D. along with Dalmatia, Iapidia and Liburnia, forming them into the Province of Illyricum.

For the next two or three centuries Latin civilization flourished in Illyria. Industrially, [316] gold was mined in Bosnia and commercial cities sprang into being along the coast. Agri- [345] culturally, the cultivation of the vine was introduced with more than satisfactory results. Almost the whole of Illyria became a recruiting ground for the Roman legions, and in turbulent times, from the East, many of the Illyrian soldiers fought their way up to the imperial purple. Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian and Maximian' were all sons of Illyrian peasants. Through the growth in importance of Illyricum, many districts were added and thus in the second century A. D. the *Illyricum Times* included Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia and Thrace.

The Via Egnatia which extended from 491 Dyrrachium, across Illyricum to Constantinople, was built during this period, in this manner forming a definite link between Rome and Constantinople.

' [Errata: should be Maximinus. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst] and Constantinople. The proof of Illyricum's rising importance came when Diocletian made Illyricum one of the four prefectures into which the empire[1] was divided. Each of these was governed by a *praefectus praetorio*. This prefecturate of Illyricum consisted of Pannonia, Noricum, Crete and the Balkan peninsula except Thrace, which belonged to the prefecturate of the East. Until 379 Illyricum was included in the western partition of the empire, but in this year eastern Illyricum was annexed to the prefecturate of the East. This new frontier was a natural and logical one in so far as it corresponded to the line of demarcation between Latin and Greek-speaking people as it even now sets the boundary which separate Latin and Greek Christianity in the Balkan peninsula.

[1] [i.e., Roman Empire--Analyst]

Epirus

THE southern part of the Kingdom of 131
Albania of today was the ancient
Epirus. This territory was bounded
on the north by the Ionian Sea and on the
south by the Ambracian Gulf. Its landward
sides were next to Illyria, Macedonia and
Thessaly. The terrain is essentially moun- 133
tainous. About the fourth century before 619
Christ these Epirots were divided in fourteen
tribes. Epirus at this time exerted no small 791
influence on Thessaly through the oracle of
Dodona. Historically, the part of Epirus was
passive. Epirus was divided into the smaller 631
kingdoms of Molossia, Thesprotia, Chaonia,
etc., which were formed into an Epirotic
League.

The chieftains of Molossia, who dominated 173
all Epirus, claimed to be descended from
Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who settled in the
country after the fall of Troy. (Plutarch also
relates that Achilles was known in this coun-
try under the name of "Aspetos" which in
Albanian means "swift.") Upon Pyrrhus'
death his kingdom was transmitted to Molossus,
his son by Andromache.

000 death his kingdom was transmitted to Molossus, his son by Andromache.

175 The early history of this dynasty is obscure. However, it is known that Admetus, in the fifth century before Christ, offered hospitality to Themistocles. Admetus was followed by his son or grandson, Tharymbas or Arymbas I, about 429 B. C., who was educated in Athens and did much to elevate civilization in his country. A later king, Alcetas, was restored to his throne about 385 B. C. His son, Arymbas II, did much for the people by the encouragement of literature and the arts. He ruled with equity and prudence. Upon the death of his brother, Neoptolemus, he took great pains with the education of his nieces and nephews. One of them, Troas, he married, Olympias, the other, was married to Philip of Macedon. After the death of Arymbas, Alexander, the brother of Olympias, was enthroned by Philip who later married Alexander's daughter, Cleopatra.

Aeacides, son of Arymbas II, succeeded Alexander. He was killed in battle in 313 B. C. against Philip, brother of Cassander. He had by his wife, Phthia, a son, the celebrated Pyrrhus, and two daughters, all three of whom were born in Epirus (Albania). The /75 x brother of Aeacides, Alcetas, succeeded him, but Alcetas was put to death by his subjects in 295 B. C. and Pyrrhus became king in 295 and ruled until 272 B. C. It was the same Pyrrhus who led his people against the Romans in Southern Italy and Sicily for six years and gave to Epirus its sole time of historic importance.

Three reigns of little importance followed this mighty king, after which Epirus was governed by a magistrate elected annually in a general assembly at Passaron, capital of Molossia.

Due to Epirus' opposition to Rome, it was devastated in 168 B. C. and never recovered. Later, in 146 B. C., it became part of the Roman province of Macedonia, receiving the name of Epirus Vetus.

A few centuries later Epirus was overrun by Illyrians. But it remained for Scanderbeg the Great, in 1443, to unite more closely the Epirots and the Illyrians.

Albanian tradition claims that the name /01 "Shqipetar,"[1] meaning "Son of the Eagle," is their rightful title, as the name "Albanian" is entirely foreign to them. This title,

[1] [Errata: should be Shqipëtar. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. #6--Analyst]

101 "Shqipetar"[1] originated with Pyrrhus of Epirus. It is related that when the swiftness of his troops was praised, Pyrrhus proudly answered that this was natural, inasmuch as his soldiers were the sons of the eagle, their movement as the flight of the king of birds.

000 Subjection to Rome, however, did not mean that the Shqipetars[1] were to give up all hope for independence.

491 Eventually Albania became the passageway for the Roman legions on their way to the East. Embarking at Brindisi, the terminus of the Appian Way, they were transported to Dyrrachium (Durazzo—Durrës in Albanian language), continuing their journey on the Via Aegitana or Egnatia, the road bed of which is well preserved to the present day.

177 On the whole, Roman influence in Albania had been of little importance. Remains of Roman architecture and civilization may be seen throughout the country even today, but the influence of Rome in shaping the course of Albanian domestic culture or national life has been slight or was completely absorbed by later invasions.

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[1] [Errata: should be Shqipëtar(s). Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116--Analyst]

Early Invasions

THE closing days of the fourth century 175x were the beginning of a dark period, for in those days the barbarian forces poured over the Balkan peninsula. The first to descend upon Albania were the Goths, who remained masters for a century or more. In the year 535, Albania was redeemed by Emperor Justinian, who was a native of Central Albania.

After Emperor Justinian had driven the Goths from Albania, the Huns ravaged the country, but this was only in the nature of raids. During this warlike period, in 481, Dalmatia was annexed to the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths. National life became even more disintegrated and it was in the nature of a climax that the third series of invasions began, this time by the Slavonic people who formed permanent settlements. Between 600 [161] and 650 the main body of these immigrants—Croats and Serbs—settled in Illyria proper: Croats in the western part and Serbs in the east. It was through this division that the

175 former came under the influence of Roman Catholicism through Rome and the latter was swayed by Byzantium and the Greek Church.

In their temporary settlements the Serbs absorbed most of the Latinized civilization and attempted to infringe upon the powerful Illyrian city-states on the coast but they were fiercely rebuked and were driven back.

Most of the Illyrian tribes in the interior remained unconquered and never came under Slavonic influence.

[101] Through the disintegration of united population, language and culture, the name of Illyria began to disappear from history and was only revived in the "Illyrian Provinces" of 1809 and the "Kingdom of Illyria" of 1816-49.

One invasion succeeded another. The Slavs under Emperor Heraclius, the Bulgarians under Tsar Simeon, and the Norman Conquest of 1081, under the leadership of Robert Guiscard, entrenched themselves in Albania.
[101] The Normans, it is believed, are responsible for the name of Albania, which name has been used ever since.

During the time of the Crusaders, Albania was a thoroughfare for the Crusaders of

France and Italy. A record of this fact is to be found in Villehardouin's "Conquete de Constantinople."

In 861 the Bulgarians invaded central and southern Albania (Epirus), defeating the Serbs and driving them out between 893 and 927. Thereafter, they settled themselves in the greater part of the peninsula, 976-1014, but were driven out in 1014 by the Emperor Basil II who reconquered southern Albania and placed it under Byzantine rule until 1204. About 1180 the Serbs attempted to reinstall themselves in Scutari and Prizren.

When these invasions had subsided, there came into being three independent Albanian principalities. The southern part of Albania was declared an independent principality by Michael Comnenus, a prince of the imperial family of Constantinople. He took up his residence in Janina. It remained under his family's rule until 1318, when they were succeeded by the princes of the House of Orsini, who held sway until 1358.

Through the negotiations of the ruler of southern Albania, a family alliance was made with Manfred, King of the Two Sicilies and natural son of Frederick II, whereby Manfred

175 married the daughter of Comnenus, and received as a dowry the cities of Corfu, Durazzo, Valona, Himara, Butrinto and Berat. Manfred was defeated and slain at Benevento by Charles of Anjou, sovereign count of Provence. Thereafter these cities were formed into the so-called Albanian Kingdom of the Angevin princes. This kingdom existed until 1368.

At the battle of Kosova, in 1389, the Albanians proved themselves valiant heroes. Of all the battles of the world, none was more bloody; the leaders of both armies were slain. Even prior to this date, however, in the early centuries, Albanians had distinguished themselves on the battlefield.

In the defeat of 1389 at Kosova, the Albanians, under the leadership of George Balsha, defied the arms of Islamism and entrenched themselves in the mountains. The Balsha family, said to be of French extraction and originating from Anjou, were previously the rulers of the Principality of Zeta, in 1366, of which Scutari was the capital. George Balsha induced the chieftains to unite with him to drive out the Serbs and Bulgarians. His power was short-lived, for the close of the fourteenth century saw the Venetians established in this district. 175 ×

The year 1412 saw a new and formidable invader, the Turk, attacking Albania.

Scanderbeg

175* DURING this period of Turkish invasion the national hero of Albania was still a young boy.

The progenitor of the family of Castriota was one Branilo, Governor of Kanina in 1368. The father of Scanderbeg was John Castriota, a hereditary Prince of Matja, a small district lying between the mountains of Epirus and the Adriatic, who resided in his palace at Kruja, where Scanderbeg, George Castriota, was born in 1403. Under the heavy pressure of Bajazet I, John Castriota was forced to submit to the Turks, to pay tribute, and to surrender his four sons as hostages to Constantinople. The youngest son being George Castriota, later known as Scanderbeg (Skenderbeg).[1] George's ability, military bearing and extraordinary intelligence attracted the attention of the Sultan, who caused him to be received into his imperial household and educated for military service. From this time on he was known by his Turkish name of Iskander ("Alexander")

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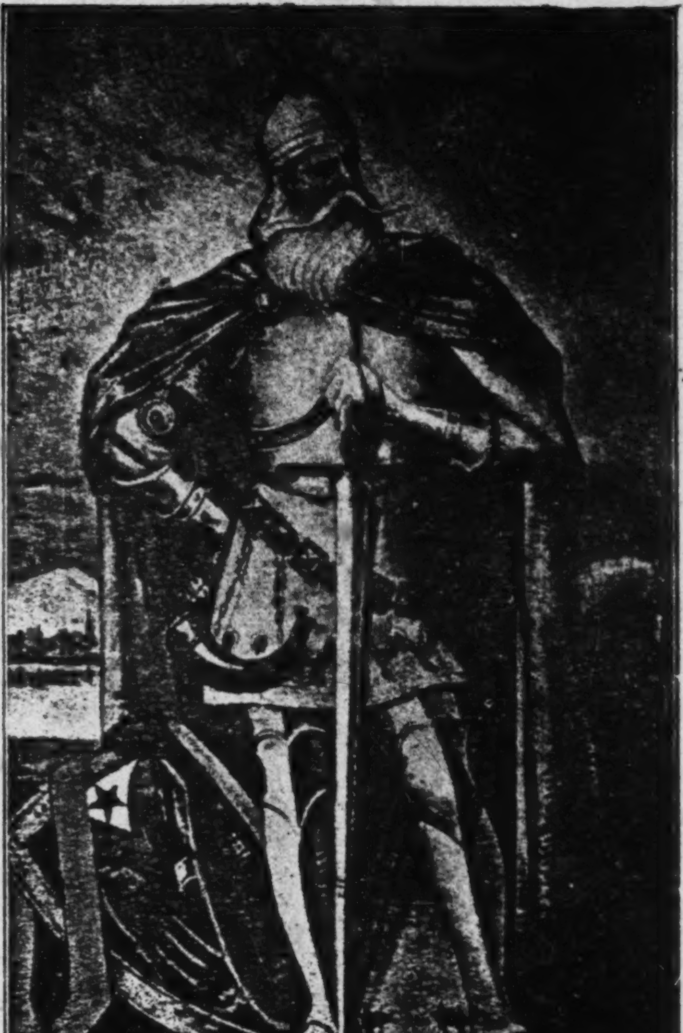
[1] [Errata: should be Skenderbeg, Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

175^x



SCANDERBEG THE GREAT
ALBANIA'S NATIONAL HERO

(facing p.22)

175ˣ with the title of prince—Lord Alexander in honorable reference to Alexander the Great. His name and title was abbreviated by his countrymen into Scanderbeg. Early in life he won renown for his military exploits and was placed in command of a cavalry of five thousand soldiers.

Upon the death of Scanderbeg's father, John Castriota, Amurath II caused the three elder sons of John Castriota to be put to death and privately seized Castriota's principality. Scanderbeg, he reasoned, was bound to him securely, but in this he was decidedly wrong. Bitter thoughts of the seizure of the rightful belongings of his father and the underhanded murder of his three brothers filled the mind of Scanderbeg with a desire for revenge. So, he bided his time, waiting for an opportunity to cast off his mask and declare himself the avenger of his family. This opportune occasion was not long in presenting itself; in the confusion following the defeat at Nish suffered by the Turkish armies in the war with the Hungarian troops under Janos Hunyady, Scanderbeg took captive the fleeing Reiis Effendi, Turkish Minister of State, compelled him to sign an order directing the Governor

175x of Kruja to surrender the city and fortress to Scanderbeg. The Turkish Governor of Kruja, Sabel Pasha, obeyed the imperial order, and Scanderbeg became master of Albania at the age of forty.

[77] His first act, as Albania's leader, was to renounce Islamism and proclaim himself champion of the Christian faith. During this period of their history, the Albanians were all Christians.

Scanderbeg's personal influence was augmented by his marriage with Andronica, daughter of Arianites Comnenus, a prominent Albanian leader.

The Albanians upheld the standards of Scanderbeg, and with the aid of these loyal forces, Scanderbeg withstood the efforts of the Turks to regain possession of Albania for a period of twenty-three years. The story of Scanderbeg's coming to Kruja has been beautifully portrayed by the American poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn."

> "Anon from the castle walls
> The crescent banner falls,
> And the crowd beholds instead,
> Like a portent in the sky,
> Iskander's banner fly,

3:Redlich 5-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG-1

SCANDERBEG

175^x

The Black Eagle with double head;
And a shout ascends on high,
For men's souls are tired of the Turks,
And their wicked ways and works,
That have made of Ak-Hissar
A city of the plague;
And the loud, exultant cry
That echoes wide and far
Is: "Long live Scanderbeg!"

Scanderbeg is ranked by Sir William Temple "among the seven chiefs who have deserved, without wearing a royal crown."

The reign of Scanderbeg fills some of the brightest pages of Albanian history, and his indomitable spirit is to be known only through reading the stories of the innumerable battles waged and won under his command against the hordes of Amurath II and Mohammed II, the conqueror of Constantinople. With an army of not more than thirty thousand men, Scanderbeg was able to put up an invincible defense, and thus, Albania was soon the only remaining bulwark of Christianity in the civilized world. Scanderbeg was appointed commander-in-chief of the Christian armies of Europe by Pope Pius II, and thus was fighting the battle of European Christendom and civilization against barbarism and heathenism.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

175x. Of all the records and traditions of wars upon this mortal plane, there have been none more glorious and spectacular than those of Albania, under the leadership of Scanderbeg. The records of glorious achievement are not excelled even by the much praised patriots of Marathon and Thermopylae. Albania's entire history in the annals of a long struggle against the Turks, and the history of her military achievements is a triumph of a mountain race against tremendous odds.

Scanderbeg was, beyond all question, one of the greatest men of his time and deserving of a high place among the foremost of the brave Christian soldiers who finally checked the seemingly forever-victorious career of the Turks. But, finally, in the fullness of years and honors, the now old hero yielded up his life, on January 17, 1468, at Alessio (Lesh in Albanian language), with a last request that his youthful sons be assured the friendly protection of the Venetians. After splendid and impressive funeral ceremonies in the Cathedral at Alessio, he was buried near the shimmering waters of the Adriatic. Strange irony that, during his lifetime he was able to ward off the Turks, but that, eleven years after his

3: Redlich   S-3   (no date) 1936   EG1 Albania EG1

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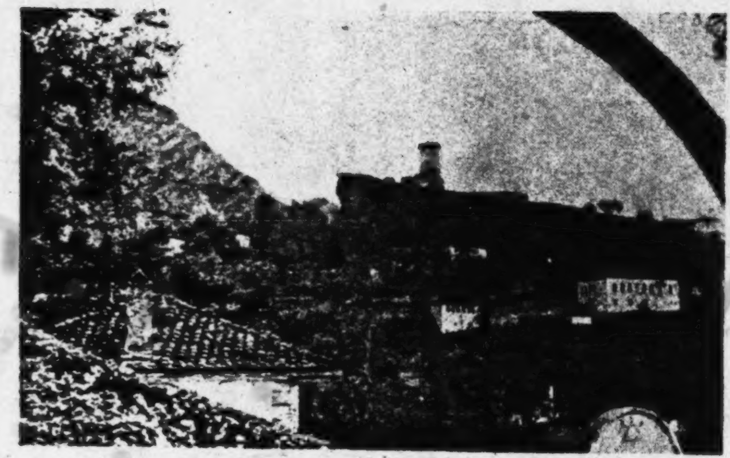
A VIEW OF KRUJA



THE REMAINS OF THE PALACE OF SCANDERBEG AT KRUJA

(facing p. 26)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EGr1

SCANDERBEG

175* death, in 1478, the Turks should have seized his tomb and made of his burial place a superstitious veneration. They disturbed the bones of his mortal body, fashioning them into rings and amulets in superstitious hope that, through some unearthly spiritual alchemy, Scanderbeg's fortune might become theirs.

The bereaved Albanians have never ceased to mourn their leader and king. Even today the memory of this medieval hero-king, who added so many glorious pages to Albania's history, lives in the heart of the Albanian, even though many have since embraced Islamism, which Scanderbeg abjured.

167 Upon the death of Scanderbeg the Great, his sons, accompanied by a large following, emigrated to Italy, where they retained their own language and social customs and remained Roman Catholics. The whole surface of Bogotia, Attica, Magaris, Corinthia and Argolis, a considerable part of Laconia, several districts in Messina, and a portion of Arcadia, Elis and Achaia were colonized by Albanians. Albanians also live on the islands of Aegina, Hydra, Psara and Spetzae.

291 Scanderbeg's death caused the Albanians to dye their jackets black, and black they remained through the ages in never ending mourning.

000 mained through the ages in never ending
775 mourning. Their traditional folklore told them that some day Scanderbeg shall return to them, walking upon the long beams of light from the sun rising across the jagged and altitudinous peaks of their native mountains. Then, will the voices of these ancient Shqipetars be raised in one mighty and thunderous shout that will resound from peak to peak and be re-echoed down the quiet valley of their native land in glad heralding of the return of the leader.

000 There is still a lane near the Quirinal in Rome which commemorates Scanderbeg's name and his visit to Rome.

The life and bravery of Scanderbeg has been made the subject of a Latin poem by de Bussieres, an Italian poem by Signora Sarrocchi, and an English tragedy, *Scanderbeg, or Love and Liberty*, by Whincop in 1747. This great leader was also described by an historian as "a saint like Saint Louis of France, a diplomat like Talleyrand, and a general like Alexander the Great."

The Turks

SCANDERBEG willed his country to /175 x the Republic of Venice. Under her protectorate, Albania was able to withstand the rule of the Turks until 1501, when she again came under the rule of the Sultan, with the exception of several of her clans which remained essentially free and independent as before. The Pashalic of Scutari was bestowed on an Albanian from Bushat, who founded the line which reigned in northern Albania until 1833. Berat, Janina and other towns were the seats of the Pashas in central and southern Albania.

Strangely enough, although the Turks were supposed to have complete control of Albania, yet the fact remains they were unable to appoint any provincial governor who was not a native Albanian, and who had not already established his arms and his force, as well as his policy and connections. It is noteworthy that the forebears of the present-day ruler, His Majesty King Zog I, King of the Albanians, were amongst those ruling families that

175 would not yield their local autonomy to the Turks, and it is not surprising, then, that a son of Mati should rise to be the guiding star to pilot his people from bondage to freedom.

Near the close of the eighteenth century, under the leadership of the famous Ali Pasha Tepeleni of Janina, who was born in 1741 at Tepelene, Albania, Albania became again, for many years duration, the seat of a really independent power, in fact of sufficient importance to exert considerable weight as an influence in foreign affairs. Ali Pasha was the son of a powerful Albanian leader. He was named by the Sultan as Vali of Janina and later he forced the Sultan to give independence to Janina. Ali Pasha had built the strong castle at Tepelene, the ruins of which still stand. Lord Byron was an admirer of Ali Pasha and was his guest, in 1809, at the Tepelene Castle.

Ali Pasha never broke completely with the Sublime Porte, but his allegiance was little more than nominal. In fact, Constantinople regarded him with great fear and distrust and as a very dangerous man for Turkey. Early in 1820, Sultan Mahmoud II proclaimed Ali Pasha an outlaw and called upon the strength of the entire empire to destroy him. 175x After two years siege Ali Pasha surrendered to Kurshid Pasha and was put to death.

In 1816 the "Kingdom of Illyria" came into existence and lasted until 1849.

A period of comparative calm ensued, extending from this time to the outbreaks of a revolutionary character in northern and southern Albania in 1835 and in 1847, respectively. These did not bring about any appreciable change in the nation, however, and so we come to the year of 1865, when the Sublime Porte took advantage of the existing situation in order to apply a new administrative system which had been especially formulated for Albania. By this new arrangement, northern Albania, which had been forever a thorn in the side of the Sublime Porte, was carved into three provinces.

About 1870, the attention of the world was attracted to Albania and her part in world affairs. Great Britain proposed the institution of an administrative autonomy in such parts of Albania wherein peace and order had been restored.

The reaction against the continuous endeavor to encircle and suppress the Albanians, 175 x made its appearance in the form of an irredentistic movement, which made its first manifestation in 1878 by the formation of the Albanian League at Prizren under the presidentship of Abdul Bey Frasheri, supported by the leader of the Mirdites—Prenk Bib x Doda.

175 It was about the year 1880 that the Turkish
168 Government relaxed the interdiction on Albanians, and national societies, with the object of furthering Albanian independence and political autonomy, sprang into existence. The particular work of these organizations was to re-awaken the dormant nationalism of the Albanians, to re-kindle the patriotism of the former centuries.

The rise into power of Sultan Abdul Hamid, surnamed the "Red Sultan," marked the beginning of the persecution of those engaged in the Albanian movement crystalized in these Albanian societies. His Grand Vizier was none other than Ferid Pasha, who, curiously enough, had a deep interest in Albanian politics. At this period, Prenk Bib Doda, the leader of the Mirdites, had been president of the Albanian League. The Red Sultan's bodyguard was composed of Albanian mountaineers. Numerous of the Turkish Grand Viziers, politicians, statesmen and high army officers/75 x were pure Albanians. These positions of 668 importance held by Albanians could not help but rebound to the aid of their country. Thus went forward the movement for independence and prepared the minds of the Albanians for those events which were to take place in the few crowded years just prior to the world war.

In 1908, Sultan Abdul Hamid was informed that he must bow to the inevitable and promulgate the Turkish Constitution, and, thus, usher in the heyday of a new political life in the land of the Shqipetars. In the following year, the Red Sultan strove to overthrow the Constitution, but was frustrated by the Albanians. The Albanians delegated Essad Pasha Toptani to inform Sultan Abdul Hamid that, so far as Albania was concerned, he was dethroned. Although true that this self-government came tragically late, for, alas, fate decreed that only the next day the tables should be turned on the Albanians by the intrigues of their neighbors, however, the seed had been sown and the Albanians had at last started on the path toward independence. Thus, a glorious chapter was closed in preparation for the sordid workings of the European and Balkan diplomacy in Albania.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Rise of Albanian Nationalism

668 IN any discussion of the Albanian policy and the awakening of the dormant spirit of the Albanians, due consideration should be given to the Albanian League (Albanian National League), for it was the one great and dominant force that made for the re-arousing of the ancient Sons of the Eagle, the Shqipetars, to a full sense of their responsibility as loyal countrymen.

175 668 To possess a complete and just view of the Albanian question, it is necessary to turn back to the days of 1877 and 1878, the period of the great Balkan upheaval occasioned by the Russo-Turkish war. The Albanians were invited by the Montenegrins to join in this war, but the Albanians refused to participate in any conflict. With the close of the war, however, at the convening of the Congress of Berlin, Albania as one of the oppressed nations, brought before that Congress a petition for the full recognition of Albanian nationality and political autonomy. It was this petition that caused the Iron Chancellor,

Prince von Bismarck, when Lord Salisbury 175-x
proposed that some attention be given the 668
Albanian question, to cry out, "there is no
Albanian Nationality."

As a result of the Congress of Berlin, Albania was divided quite generously amongst her neighbors, with little regard for national groups or local sentiment.

Not only was this arrangement contrary to the liking of the Albanians, but it was also grossly unfair. The Albanians registered a vigorous protest, which received no attention due to Prince von Bismarck's erroneous statement that there was no Albanian nationality. Not receiving any attention, the Albanians decided, if they were to have any sort of political autonomy, it must come through their own efforts. Thus, to promote the cause of the Albanians as a nationality and to sound to the world the clarion call of the desire of the Albanians for national independence and self-government, the Albanian League for the Defense of the Rights of the Albanian Nationality was organized with headquarters at Prizren.

The first act of the League was to issue a

175x 668 protest against the parcelling out of Albanian territory.

By reason of the irresistible force of this League, the European powers who were signatories of the Berlin Treaty found it advisable, as well as necessary, to modify their original decision.

Space forbids us to go into details concerning the dealings between the Albanian League and the "Young Turks," whose success was largely due to the Albanian support, x 175 669 which led up ultimately to the winning of Albanian autonomy. At one time, the "Young Turks" attempted to disarm the northern Albanians, who, by the way, had been their main source of aid in the overthrow and dethronement of the Red Sultan. The loyal Albanians, equal to the occasion, did not bow to the apparently inevitable. In July, 1910, the Albanian chieftains met in Ferizovitch, where they decided that the crying need of the hour was autonomous administration. Insurrections followed, because of the failure of the "Young Turks" to accede to the wishes of the Albanian chieftains. Two attempts were made by the Turks to crush the Albanians; finally, they were, to all appearances, subdued,

but no sooner had the Turkish armies with- 669
drawn from Albania than the invincible 175x
Shqipetars rose again and once more sent forth their cry of defiance. The Albanians were repeatedly successful in the month of May, 1912. Southern Albania joined forces with the insurgents, and together demanded autonomy and recognition as a separate government. In August of the same year, the Turkish regime surrendered to the demands of the unconquerable Albanians.

The concessions granted by Turkey, after cessation of hostilities, were surprising. Albania was recognized as an autonomous province, constituting four Albanian vilayets, namely, Monastir, Kosova, Scutari and Janina; further, it was provided that these vilayets shall be ruled by native governors, in accordance with local customs and laws. There were many other minor concessions, but a very important one was the fact that Turkey admitted that Albania was composed of four vilayets. This was the first attempt to set a boundary line for Albania.

The Balkan question was one of the most 175x
delicate that has ever been presented to Southeastern Europe. When one reflects that, dec-

ade after decade, the Bulgarians, the Greeks and the Serbs regarded Albania with ever jealous eyes and avaricious minds, and that the Albanians are, after all, their equals, if not their superiors in many respects, one asks the question, why should not the Albanians be able to rule their own land like the other Balkan people?

The recognition of the autonomy of Albania was an event that stirred the Balkans to the very depth, for it signalized the advent of a new political power in the Balkan peninsula. There resulted two major effects of this act; namely, the balance of power was consequently immeasurably disturbed; and, secondly, with an autonomous regime in the four western vilayets, which were formerly under Turkish rule, all thought of expansion, so far as the Balkan States were concerned, were[1] automatically barred.

By the provisions of the Balkan Alliance, the whole of Albania was distributed among several signatories with no regard to the rights, wishes or prerogatives of Albania. More than that, they paid no attention or exhibited any regard for the rights of Albanian nationality, nor gave a passing thought

[1] [Errata: should be was. Cf. Errata sheet p. 269, Cat. 116--Analyst]

to that which is termed international morality. 175
What sordid travesty, what an unpardonable sin was committed in the name of the Balkan Alliance. Nevertheless, when Albanian autonomy became a reality, the revenge of justice was destined to be hurled upon their own heads.

The Balkan States, with the cries of the frenzied multitudes still ringing in their ears, proceeded to a dastardly piece of diplomacy, in that they demanded that the Sublime Porte grant Macedonia an autonomous government such as had been given Albania. When their demands were refused by Turkey, they next set about to find some other small nation that might be used as the "cat's paw" or "the agent provocateur" to do the bidding of the Balkan States in the enacting of their sordid little drama.

Montenegro was compelled by the Balkan States to march its army upon the Turkish forces, without so much as a formal declaration of war. Hostilities began officially on October 8, 1912, but Greece did not enter into the conflict until ten days had elapsed. This war was a complete surprise to the Albanians, as also it was to the rest of the world. There

175x was a great deal of doubt in the minds of many as to the degree of good faith and sincerity to be expected from the Balkan States, however, the important fact was that Albania had been driven to the wall and made to face the crucial test. The Balkan States were repeatedly successful in their military operations and threw the Turks into a wild and disorderly retreat. The whole of Albania was placed under the command of Balkan military leaders, with the one exception of the fortress of Janina. Central and northern Albania was overrun by the Montenegrins and Serbs, while southern Albania was occupied by the Greeks. Forthwith, Albania was treated as a conquered nation, and the occupation was considered a permanent one.

x 175 668 The Albanians were not easily beguiled by wily statesmen, especially when they happened to be Balkans. Even though the darkness of abject slavery seemed to have descended upon them, even when an autonomous Albania seemed but an unsubstantial dream, all this did not prevent them from banding together in a brave effort to defend their own. Only a miracle would be their salvation, and, a miracle man arose in the person of Ismail

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

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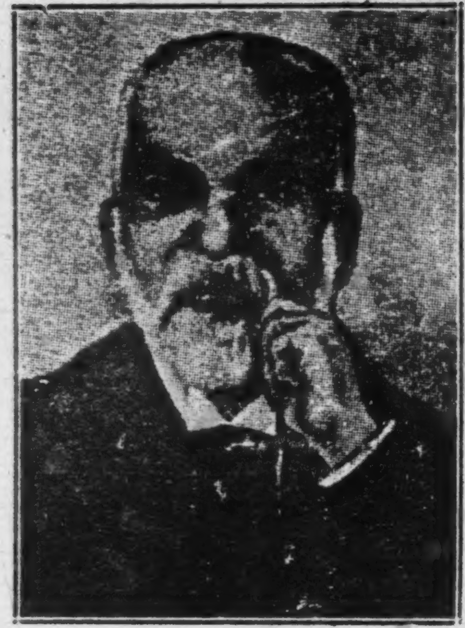

ISMAIL QEMAL BEY VLORA

(facing p. 40)

175 Qemal Bey Vlora of Valona, an old Albanian
666 leader, who volunteered to use all of his power to bring about the redemption of Albania.

At the beginning of the Balkan invasion Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora was in Constantinople, where he was tendered a seat in the Turkish Ministry, which, by the way, had for its sole purpose the annexation of Albania to the cause of Turkey. However, he refused the offer that he might better devote all his time to the interests of Albania.

Being apprised of the invasion, he resolved to save Albania by a "coup de main." Hurriedly leaving Constantinople to preside over a meeting of Albanian leaders at Bucharest, where he received assurances of support of such leaders, he at last arrived in Albania accompanied by a few friends. His first act was to call together at Valona a meeting, and as a direct result thereof, on November 28, 1912, the national emblem, symbolized in a red flag bearing the double-headed black eagle of Scanderbeg, was flown above the city. On the same day he proclaimed the independence of Albania. A provisional government was established with Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora as its president, and a Provisional National

175x [661] Assembly was commissioned to take care of the enactment of a series of laws for the welfare of Albania.

About this time it came to light that Austria and Italy had been concerned as to the future of Albania as far back as 1900, at which time they entered into an agreement guaranteeing the integrity of Albania, if and when the Turkish Empire be dismembered and Albania assume the position of an independent nation.

This agreement was not generally known to exist, and, in truth, came about through an interchange of notes between the two nations, taking place on the eve of Italy's acceptance of her place in the Entente as against the League of the Central Powers. Some reference is made of this agreement in the Italian Green Book of 1914-1915, and is contained in the seventy-first document of the Green Book. The exact text of the formal agreement is not universally known and, to the knowledge of the author, has not been published. There is some question in regard to whether Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora had any knowledge of the existence of such an agreement, but perhaps he was cognizant of it.

The natural curiosity of the reader will

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

undoubtedly lead him to wonder why these two Great Powers felt the necessity of such an understanding in regard to a small country. This is rather clearly explained in the declaration of Count Tittoni, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, made, in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, on May 14, 1904: 175x

> "The proper value of Albania resides in her ports and in her seacoast, the possession of which would mean for either Italy or Austria, the incontestable supremacy over the Adriatic Sea. This is what Italy would never allow Austria to obtain, nor Austria, Italy; but in the event that either one of these States should seek to appropriate for itself that region, the other ought to oppose it by all available means."

Thus, it is easily comprehended that, while these two Great Powers might oppose each other in the control of Albania, yet they would unite against a third State, attempting to launch a campaign of expansion at the expense of Albania.

Throughout all these happenings, Austria was considerably worried as to just what was transpiring in Albania and as to the movements of the Balkan troops. The Austrian High Command was even more concerned, because of interest in the Balkans occasioned by reason of membership in the Teutonic Alliance and the accompanying problems of the Bagdad railway project and the "Drang Nach Osten" policy. When the Balkans evidenced that they had no intention of relenting in their advance upon Albania, Austria mobilized her forces with the apparent resolve of waging war with Montenegro and Serbia. Italy, though momentarily not disposed to proceed to such extent, nevertheless, felt it was necessary that she join forces with her ally, Austria, in order to restrain the Greeks and the Slavs from descending upon the shores of the Adriatic and crushing Albania.

Russia had been striving to gain a foothold in Albania through the Slav element in Scutari, an element so small as to be almost negligible. Her work, therefore, was ineffective, in that a tiny church and school was all she could hope to fill with all her supporters, and that was scarcely sufficient for the materialization of her intended project.

From what has gone before it is obvious that the Great Powers had, for a quarter of a century, been collecting material that would serve as inflammable tinder and succeed in inaugurating a great world conflict, the result of which we all know only too well. It became clear that, unless Serbia and her allies curbed their attack upon Albania, Austria would rise against Montenegro and Serbia, Italy would resort to arms against Greece, while Russia would rush to the assistance of the Slav nations by declaring war upon Austria; Germany, in turn, would make common cause with her allies, Austria and Italy, while France would join her ally, Russia. Thus, the time came when the crux of the situation rested in the hands of Great Britain and the man who directed the destinies of her foreign policy at that time, Sir Edward Grey. 175

It was Sir Edward Grey who proposed that all Ambassadors of the European Great Powers accredited to the Court of St. James form a Conference, which would decide the fate of Albania, as well as the right of Serbia to a commercial outlet in the Adriatic Sea. This Conference, now known as the Conference of Ambassadors, was composed of the Ambassadors of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Russia, and held the first formal meeting at the British Foreign Office, on December 17, 1912.

Three days later, on December 20, 1912,

175x the following statement was issued by the British Foreign Office:

> "The Ambassadors have recommended to their governments and the latter have accepted in principal Albanian autonomy, together with a provision guaranteeing to Serbia commercial access to the Adriatic Sea. All six governments have agreed in principal on these points."

This agreement averted an armed conflict among the Great Powers.

The Albanian Principality

THUS was inaugurated the official existence of an independent and sovereign Albanian State.[1]

It is clear that the Great Powers were conscious of acting under the stress of the time in an effort to avoid a general state of war. For once justice and equity were forced to give way to expediency. Later developments, however, demonstrated that what the Ambassadors had in mind was not the formation of a sound and strong Albanian Principality, but rather the establishment of a sort of *modus vivendi*. This was later modified to some extent in the naming of Prince Wilhelm of Wied as ruler of the country. In passing, it is well to know that the view on the Albanian questions held by the Great Powers was neither unknown nor unappreciated by the eminent statesman who presided over the Conference of Ambassadors. In fact, upon being questioned in the House of Commons concerning Albania, Sir Edward Grey replied that not too much was to be expected

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[1] [See category 116, pp. 45-46--Analyst]

175x from the Conference and further stated: "the primary essential was to preserve agreement between the powers themselves."

– Finally the Conference of Ambassadors reached some unanimous decision as to the future status of Albania and agreed upon some general provisions concerning the new State. One very important decision was that which recognized Albania as an independent and sovereign nation, to be governed by a European prince chosen by the Great Powers; and, perhaps still more important, this new nation was to enjoy perpetual neutrality under the combined protection of the Great Powers. The Great Powers were to be represented in Albania by an International Commission, which would exercise a kind of guardianship over the nation and which would be empowered to control the finances of the country and check the government in case of its procedure beyond the limits of its jurisdiction. This International Commission of Control comprised one delegate from each of the Great Powers and one Albanian representative.

We will not pause long for a discussion of the Scutari Crisis, except to say that the Conference of Ambassadors had scarcely drawn the boundary lines to the northeast, the Albanian-Montenegrin-Serbian frontier, than a new war crisis appeared in the offing, none the less serious than that of the preceding November. After a great deal of debate the Great Powers decided to occupy Scutari, and, on May 13, an international contingent of marines entered Scutari. At this time Scutari was governed by Vice-Admiral Cecil Burney. 175 x

Of the provisional government, which was operating at this time in Albania, we wish to point out that it received its authority by the proclamation of independence of November 28, 1912, and this status was confirmed, on December 20, 1912, by the Conference of Ambassadors[1] having taken cognizance thereof. 642 175 x

The official title of the new government was "The Provisional Albanian Government" and was placed under the presidency of Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora and the vice-presidency of Monsignor Nicholas Kachori, Catholic Prelate of Durazzo.

The territory over which they ruled was unique because of its miniature size. Their jurisdiction extended about a stone's throw

[1] [See category 116, pp. 45-46 --Analyst]

642 175 from Valona, and the funds necessary for the support of any government was sadly lacking. The principal work of this government was to uphold the Albanian cause and defend the rights of the people. However, the government was a virtual prisoner within the walls of Valona and was exposed to the machinations of the Balkan intrigues. To the north of Valona were the troops of Serbia, to the south those of the Greeks, and to the east, barely twenty miles from the city, was the ubiquitous Djavid Pasha, avowed destroyer of Albania. To complete the vicious net that the Balkans hoped to cast about the new Albania, the sea was blocked by a Greek squadron.

By April of the year 1913, the territory of the provisional government had been enlarged by the addition of territories in central and northern Albania evacuated by the Serbian troops. The government then proceeded to establish in these areas local authorities patterned and based upon the "Organic Law of Albania."

175 One of the great sins of the Conference of Ambassadors and the International Commission of Control was the evil of procrastination, in which both indulged. Had a ruling prince

been appointed shortly after the Conference of Ambassadors drew to a close, it would not have presented so difficult a problem to the new ruler destined to take up the reins of the government where the provisional government left off.

The Boundaries Commission was beguiled at an early date by the craftiness of the Greeks. In their zeal to present to the Boundary Commission only a Greek-speaking people, those inhabitants who spoke also the Greek tongue only were allowed to appear on the streets during the convening of the Commission. In places where there happened to be none who spoke the Greek language, Greek colonists, criminals and refugees were imported from Asia Minor for the express purpose of impressing the Commission with the existence of a Greek-speaking population in Albania. During this period those inhabitants not speaking Greek were confined to their premises under guard. Stores and all buildings boasted a new coat of paint in the traditional Greek colors, white and blue; moreover, a fact which would be ludicrous if it were not so significant of the apparently forever unsuccessful struggle of Albania to

175x achieve her nationalism, was the fact that even the populace was forced by the Greek soldiery to appear in blue and white apparel. These were only a few of the extreme measures resorted to by the Greek Government in order to falsely impress the Commission.

In the meantime many events were transpiring which indicated that the negligence in appointing a ruler was proving fatal to the Albanian cause.

Austrian bankers had assembled for the formation of the Albanian National Bank. But the Boundaries Commission delayed for a month in Monastir, where it accomplished nothing. The Albanians were becoming impatient of results and, more than that, suspicious that their provisional government was much too conservative. There was a feeling in certain quarters that Greece would never relinquish possession of southern Albania. In the midst of all this, Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora notified the Great Powers of his inability to cope with the situation and besought them to make immediate arrangements for the establishment of a ruling prince at the head of the government, as that alone would restore the confidence of the people in the benevolence of Europe.

175x

After more delay and further quibbling, it was at last officially announced, on December 3, 1913, that Prince Wilhelm of Wied was elected to be the Prince of Albania.

On March 7, 1914, Prince Wilhelm of Wied and his consort landed at the port of Durazzo from the yacht "Taurus," which was surrounded by battleships and destroyers of the Great Powers. His arrival in Albania was greeted with vociferous rejoicing on the part of the population.

From the very first Prince of Wied was destined to encounter innumerable difficulties, difficulties inherited from the Conference of Ambassadors and the International Commission of Control, an unfortunate inheritance for both Albania and himself. At the outset the Conference of Ambassadors had failed to settle the question of the boundary lines of southern Albania. It had appointed a Commission of Boundaries, to be sure, but this Commission had dallied in Monastir and been sadly duped by the agents of Greece. It became evident that it was nothing short of a fiasco to give to Prince of Wied the reins of the Albanian Government while the southern

175x provinces were still in the hands and under the control of an irresponsible "brigandesque camarilla." This was one of the momentous problems that was to cause Prince of Wied a great deal of trouble and, later, cost the lives of thousands of innocent human beings.

669 175x Affairs in Albania had scarcely returned to normalcy[1] when again the principality was thrown into a state of ferment and confusion by a small agrarian revolt in central Albania. The Albanian Government had the whole situation well in hand and would have been successful were it not that certain foreign newspaper correspondents sent the false alarm to Durazzo that the rebels were arriving at the gates of the city. This caused the populace to rush frantically to ships lying in the harbor, while the prince failed to gain his point in the hill country in an effort to save the city itself. By means of intrigue and duplicity, it was not long until the whole of central Albania was in a state of revolt.

While negotiations were being carried on with the rebels, it was next to impossible to bring about a state of quietness and normalcy to a populace that had so many times suffered gross betrayal. Prince of Wied found himself

[1] [after the institution of the Prince of Waid as Prince of Albania in 1913--Analyst]

unable to staunch the stream of violence and [669]
confusion, or bring under control the forces 175x
at the bottom of the mad uproar.

In the mean time, the Greeks took advantage of the situation in central Albania and completed the devastation of southern Albania, thereby violating the Treaty of Corfu. Meanwhile, to resist the incorporation of southern Albania in the new Albanian Principality, Greece instigated during February the constitution of a "Provisional Government of Autonomous Epirus," supported by Greeks masquerading as insurgents. An attempt was made through the necessary channels to expel the Greeks from southern Albania and to further strengthen the government at Durazzo. Just at this time, however, there resounded throughout the world the ominous report of the assassin's gun, which felled the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and the world war, with its dire consequences, was imminent. In this deadly and all-including conflict, the Albanian problem was forgotten.

At the end of a most troublesome six months rule, on September 3, 1914, Prince of Wied and his family embarked upon the Italian

175x yacht "Misurata," and set sail for the Wied estates on the Rhine.

Before he left, however, he returned his Commission to govern Albania to that body from which he received it—The International Commission of Control. It is of interest to note that this Commission even though vested with the authority and prestige of the Great Powers, nevertheless, could fare no better than the Prince of Wied, for with the opening of the world war most of the delegates of the Great Powers to the Commission had been recalled by their respective governments.

Albania from 1914 to 1919

ESSAD Pasha Toptani, formerly Minister of Interior and War under the Prince of Wied Government, not only betrayed the Prince of Wied but also conspired against him and Albania's independence, now taking advantage of the sad state of affairs, returned from his forced exile to Albania and set up a new government of his own, but this was not to be stable. The Greeks re-entered the southern part of Albania in November, 1914, and on Christmas Day of the same year, Italian troops landed at Valona, declaring that they had come to uphold the rights of Albania and safeguard Albania's interests. Later French troops came to the outskirts of Korcha, and finally entered the city and acknowledged the "Autonomous Albanian Province of Koritsa." The Albanian flag was hoisted and the French troops accorded it the usual honors. 175

On June 3, 1917, Italy officially declared that it was one of her aims to re-establish the independence and integrity of the Albanian

175x State. On that day the occupation of southern Albania by Italian troops having been completed, General Ferrero, Commander of the Italian occupation forces, read the following formal proclamation before a great gathering of Albanian notables at Argyrocastro (Gjinokastra), the erstwhile seat of the autonomous Epirus Government:

"To The Whole People of Albania:

"Today, June 3rd, 1917, which is the memorable anniversary of the establishment of Italian constitutional liberties, I, General Giacinto Ferrero, Commander of the Italian Expeditionary Forces in Albania, do solemnly proclaim, in accordance with the orders of His Majesty King Victor Emmanuel, the unity and independence of the whole of Albania, under the shield and protection of the Italian Kingdom.

"By virtue of this proclamation, you, Albanians, have a free government, an army, tribunals, all composed of Albanians, and are free to use as you wish your property and the products of your labor, for your own benefit, and for the enrichment of your country.

"Albanians:

"Wherever you are, whether free in the land of your birth, or in exile in other countries and under foreign domination, we are bringing back

THE ROYAL PALACE IN TIRANA

(facing p. 58)

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175 to you the civilization of the Romans and the Venetians.

"You know the bonds that unite the Italian and Albanian interests. The sea divides them, and, at the same time, the sea binds them together. Let all good citizens, then, stand unitedly, having faith in the future of your beloved nation. Come all of you, under the flags of Albania and Italy, and pledge yourselves to Albania, which is today proclaimed independent, in the name of the Italian Government and under its friendly protection."

Thus came the dawn of a new happy era for the land of Scanderbeg the Great.

The Albanians pleaded their cause before the Peace Conference, but here there were too many divergent interests rivaling with each other; France, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia—each of these powers pursuing its own ambitions when deliberating the Albanian question, and none of them gave thought to help Albania and her sacred rights. Two entire years were spent in fruitless discussions, but even when a partition of Albania began to be seriously considered, a profound emotion was shaking Albania and the people's patience had reached its lowest ebb.

At this period, there emerged into national

175ˣ prominence, a youthful personality who was destined to be the modern saviour of his country. A princely youth of twenty-five, Ahmed Bey Zogu, was one of the outstanding Albanians who might be trusted to lay the foundation of a new Albania.

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Albanian Independence

UPON the initiative of Ahmed Bey Zogu, 175 x the Albanian leaders called a Congress at Lushnja, March 27, 1920, to form a provisional government and to draw up a Constitution. While orders had been given to the army of occupation to prevent any national movement, these same soldiers realized that the presence of Ahmed Bey Zogu, with his deadly sharpshooters from Mati, his birthplace, at this Congress put a different aspect on the situation. This youthful national champion rose in that meeting and pledged himself to protect the Congress even at the cost of his life. His courageous demeanor, masterful manner and methodical movements at once impressed all present. The delegates, unhampered by fear, proceeded to form a regency of four members, and a cabinet, under the premiership of Sulejman Bey Delvina, was elected, in which Ahmed Bey Zogu was named Minister of Interior, and a new delegation was sent to Paris to plead Albania's cause.

175x Thus from Mati a guiding star arose which was to extend its rays of erudition and calmness over an entire nation that had yearned through the centuries for a lasting peace.

Ahmed Bey Zogu, as Minister of Interior, displayed so much energy and circumspection, that within a short time tranquility and security were completely established throughout the nation. Thus all pretext for the foreign powers to continue maintaining garrisons in Albania was eliminated, and such armed forces had to be withdrawn. In June, 1920, the Albanians drove the Italians into Valona, and they, wishing to remain in Albania's good will, recognized the new government and evacuated the country. The Yugoslavs, when asked to withdraw, advanced on Tirana, the new capital of Albania, but were repulsed to their previous position. But they still worked quietly and secretly to gain possession of northeastern Albania. One year later, the Yugoslavs proclaimed a "Mirdite Republic" at Prizren, which was unsupported outside of Yugoslavia. This "Republic" collapsed when Albania protested through the League of Nations, of which Albania became a member

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AN OFFICIAL OCCASION AT THE ROYAL PALAC

(facing p.62)

175 X on December 17, 1920, and the Yugoslavs evacuated Albania.

The Albanian gendarmerie and militia were reorganized and a strong foundation of civil administration was successfully laid. A public loan was floated with great success; Parliament convened; Albania's independence was recognized at the Peace Conference, thereby crowning with triumph the efforts of the first act on the stage of the political life of Albania.

The various political parties, represented in the Albanian Parliament, were showing a very intense activity, and great emotions, liberated from age-old chains, were indulging in unrestrained vehemence. This way the various cabinets succeeded each other in rapid succession, but without any exception, Ahmed Bey Zogu, having given such remarkable proofs of his organizing capacities and unselfish patriotism, held a seat in all of them.

Prime Minister Sulejman Bey Delvina was succeeded by two cabinets under the Premiership of Elias Vrioni, who was replaced by a coalition-government, called the "Sacred Union," headed by Pandeli Evangheli, who was succeeded by a cabinet, lasting four days, 175x under Hassan Prishtina, who made way for a provisional government under Idomene Kosturi and thereby paving the way for the Xhafer Ypi cabinet, which was of greater stability and longer duration. In most of these cabinets, Ahmed Bey Zogu held Ministerial portfolios, but in all cabinets he was actually its soul and leading spirit.

These first years of stabilization could not pass without certain frictions from within and without. Conflicts on the Greek and Yugoslav borders, principally caused by the artificial delineations, which had been fixed on many points contrary to natural geographical and ethnographical conditions, absorbed a great amount of force and attention, which otherwise could have been used to much more fertile purposes. On the other hand, the uneasiness and unstability, aroused by these more or less serious troubles were exploited by political gamblers from within and from abroad; personal jealousy combined with differences in politics were creating interior troubles, at times very grave. The seditious movement of March, 1922, was one of the more dangerous cases of this kind. During this entire period, full of difficulties and great anxieties, 175x

it was due only to Ahmed Bey Zogu's extraordinary qualities as a statesman, political leader and to his inexhaustible energy, that Albania succeeded in overcoming the infantile diseases of its first days of independent political life without any serious consequences.

On December 2, 1922, Ahmed Bey Zogu took over the Premiership from Xhafer Ypi, who was elected a member of the Council of Regency.

The government leaned chiefly on the conservative parties, who called for a quiet and systematic way in the execution of reforms and who were for avoiding any political adventure in reference to foreign relations with Greece and Yugoslavia by giving up all irredentistic tendencies, preferring peace and tranquility. Whereas, their opponents favored radical proceedings, which in certain points, as on the question of agrarian reforms, ran very close to communism; with regard to the Albanian territories given away to Greece and Yugoslavia by decision of the Great Powers, they believed in a strong and inflexible policy directed towards recovery of the lost provinces even at the peril of a new war. Ahmed Bey Zogu succeeded very skillfully for some

175x time in maneuvering between these two charged currents, but finally he resigned, when on February 23, 1924, an unsuccessful attempt to shoot him, during a session of Parliament, was made by a fanatic student. He was succeeded by Shefqet Verlaci, who became Prime Minister, but Ahmed Bey Zogu continued to maintain his influence in the course of politics which he had initiated and directed until now.

669 175x Agitation and arguments, calculated to stir the instincts of the thoughtless masses, taken among the people, finally let loose a new revolution, which proved to be quite serious. The revolutionary movement, led by Fan Noli (Theophan Stylian Noli), Bishop of the Albanian-Orthodox Church, who managed to gain sufficient prestige to launch a revolution in June, 1924.

Ahmed Bey Zogu sought refuge in Yugoslavia.

For a time it seemed that the destiny of Albania was in the hands of Bishop Fan Noli, but fate doles out strange verdicts and Noli was unsuccessful. In his role as leader, he was looked to as the one to settle the agrarian question, but he was unable to produce results.

His fatal error, however, was in petitioning 669
the League of Nations for the loan of huge 175 x
sums of money for Albania. His manner of presenting the request displayed lack of diplomacy, and many members of the League looked upon him with an eye of suspicion, while others were deeply offended at his action. The final blow came when he entered into diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and accorded recognition to a Soviet Russian Minister with a large staff, who was to use the Albanian capital, Tirana, as a center for Soviet propaganda in Europe. Fascist Italy and conservative England frowned upon Noli's policy. They could not properly tolerate sovietism in Albania, where about ninety-five per cent of the inhabitants were land-owners, who were most reluctant to submit to any radical experiments. With the continued growth of unrest and discontent, revolt gained headway while Bishop Noli's political drama waned and he left Albania.

About three years ago, Bishop Fan Noli, so 000
long King Zog's bitterest opponent, was ill and in poverty in the United States of America, and at the end of 1933 applied to King Zog for help. The King in his generous way sent

006 financial help, without any conditions attached, and Bishop Noli voluntarily declared by written statement that King Zog is a great unselfish leader as he so ably proved himself to be for Albania. Bishop Noli further declared that he is retiring from politics and would from now on confine himself to the church and to literary activities.

The Republic of Albania

ON Christmas evening of 1924, Ahmed 642
Bey Zogu won over the considerate and 643
intelligent elements of the population. He re-entered Tirana and was greeted by the whole town with shouts of cheer and gratitude and was hailed as the leader who would direct Albania into a peaceful and prosperous future. As soon as harmony and tranquility had been restored, the young leader called upon the Albanians for the election of a Constitutional Assembly, which body declared Albania a republic in January, 1925, and the Albanians showed unwavering loyalty by electing, on January 31, 1925, Ahmed Bey Zogu as their first president.

The new president studied the needs, re- 663
quirements and the psychology of his people. 642
He was determined to make Albania into a peaceful and united nation, and, through his obvious efforts, he won the support and admiration of the strongest and sturdiest clans of Albania. These clans, which had never paid taxes to the Sultans of Turkey, now began to

663 pay taxes to the new government. As a further 642 sign of their loyalty, they laid down their arms, returned to their homes and their farms, thoroughly convinced that the new president will safeguard the interests of the nation.

Through his highly developed penchant for law and order, President Ahmed Bey Zogu won the cooperation of the Beys of Albania. Until this time the Beys of Albania were too proud to unite under another Bey as their chief. They had engaged in petty quarrels and waged war against each other like the Barons of mediaeval England. The firm hand of Ahmed Bey Zogu tended towards forming them into a national union, and they accepted Ahmed Bey Zogu as their chief and president.

In reaching these ends, Ahmed Bey Zogu proved himself a magnet rather than an autocrat or tyrant. In his way he has given ample evidence to his people that his chief aim in life, and his only objective is to put Albania on an equal rank with other civilized nations.

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CHILDREN'S FESTIVAL IN TIRANA

(facing p.70)

The Kingdom of Albania

642 THE peak of President Zogu's success was reached on September 1, 1928, when, upon the acclamation of his subjects, Albania was declared a democratic, constitutional, hereditary monarchy and this able leader was proclaimed the King of the Albanians, under the title of King Zog I.

643 King Zog's rise to the throne of Albania is in keeping with the psychology of the Albanian people. In this rugged country, the idea of a king has taken very deep root, and in the mind of the Albanian no president can fill the places occupied by King Pyrrhus, Alexander the Great and Scanderbeg the Great.

Under King Zog, Albania has been making steady progress toward modernization of such magnitude that it can be favorably compared to that promoted by other leaders of great nations who have assumed power and built an united country out of what might have been chaos.

When we consider that Albania has passed through the upheaval of the world war fol-

643 lowed by several uprisings, and, when we realize that, following the world war, Albania was pillaged by her neighbors, and, lastly, when we comprehend in some measure the tremendous task that confronted the king as the ruler of a torn and sadly mutilated country endeavoring, in the role of a new and independent nation, to struggle to its feet, and against terrific economic, social, and political odds to take its place in the family of nations, when he was called upon to face innumerable problems in organizing a government without money and to create a peaceful nation out of chaos, only then can we appreciate the great achievements of King Zog. He has met and beneficially solved the numerous post-war problems, social, political, cultural and economic, which confronted Albania, creating the necessary administration of government and freeing the country of invaders.

191 The promotion of national consciousness was pushed ahead by the use of a common language in which school-books, newspapers and literary works have to be printed, substituting for the local dialects. The law of agrarian reform of 1930 laid the foundation for
423 [565] the creation of a nationalistically-inclined class of small peasant proprietors.

class of small peasants proprietors. The stability of the country has been further promoted by the pacification of the outlying districts. 423

During the more recent years of the reign of King Zog, his actions and work have all tended toward the true pacification and reconciliation of divided interests, to internal union and prosperity, and to the political and social progress of Albania. 663

The work accomplished for Albania by King Zog can be outlined briefly as follows: a highway construction program; new roads built; new modern bridges constructed throughout the country; new government and public buildings erected in Tirana and other cities; better housing; greater trade relationship; increased exports and imports; general development of the country and of some of the mineral resources; establishment and stabilization of the Albanian currency; hospitals and clinics built in the various cities; codification and improving changes of the laws; the assurance of absolute safety and security throughout the country by organizing the militia and the gendarmerie, thereby giving to Albania for the first time a permanent mili-

663 tary and police force; reforms in the government service; improvement of the ports; modernization and improvement of agriculture and similar industries for increase of home production; in the educational field much has been done by the building of a large number of new schools, libraries and placing education under government subsidy and supervision; introduced the Boy Scouts organization making membership compulsory between the ages of 12 and 18, this was done for the upbuilding of health and character of the Albanian youth, and numerous other improvements were made by King Zog.

In foreign policies, King Zog is for peace and true friendship equally with all nations.

Free from all those prejudices which separate society and create dissension, tolerant to men of other beliefs, fair and impartial to men of other races, he so obviously succeeded in welding all the conflicting elements of his country into a strong and prosperous whole.

000 It is evident that the golden opportunity for Albania has arrived. Under the able guidance of King Zog I, Albania is being restored to all of those things which were hers from the days of antiquity. It must be realized

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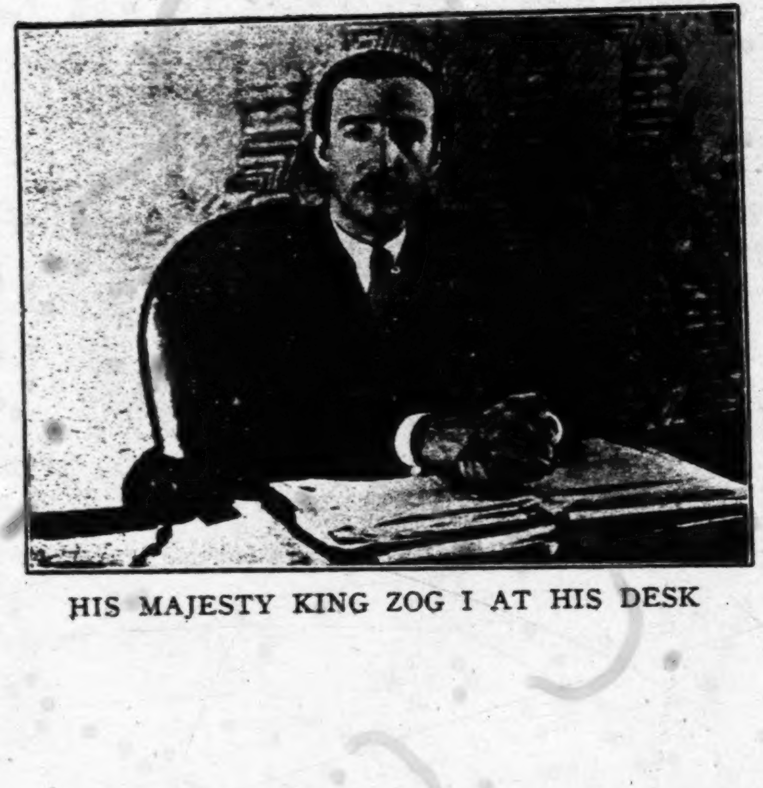

HIS MAJESTY KING ZOG I AT HIS DESK

(facing p. 74)

000 that a nation that could retain all of its native customs, its folklore, and its nationalistic trend, even under oppression and cruel domination from without, must live on through the centuries to see her wrongs righted and her grievances redressed. The avowed desire of the many tribal units to be united in one great mother country is so self-evident that it cannot be questioned. The Albanian loves his farm land, and after many centuries of warfare, he has settled down into the occupation of peace. He has beaten the proverbial sword of warfare into the plowshare and begun to build constructively for his descendants that they may enjoy the blessings of peace and happiness, the heaven-sent attributes of every law abiding citizen and nation on the face of the earth.

And, thus, to-day Albania is a consolidated State and a most valuable member of the great family of western nations.

System of Government

642 ALBANIA is a democratic, constitutional, hereditary monarchy, ruled by a king of the ancient dynasty of the Zogus of Mati, which family was interrelated by marriage in the fifteenth century with Scanderbeg the Great, Albania's national hero-king.

643 According to the Constitution, the monarchy is hereditary in the male line in the Zogu dynasty. In case of the absence of a direct heir, the ruling king designates, with the approval of Parliament, his own successor from the male line of his family.

The king names the Prime Minister and the cabinet.

646 Parliament is composed of a House of Representatives, deputies to which are elected by free, equal, universal and direct suffrage of all male citizens. One deputy for every 15,000 population is elected for the term of four years. Parliament consists now of 56[1] deputies.

Any citizen of 30 years of age and over,

[1] [Errata: should be 58. [76] Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116--Analyst]

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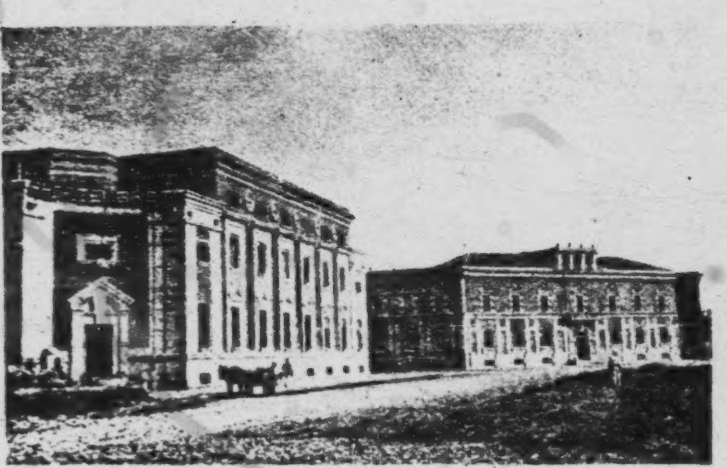

TWO OF THE SEVERAL NEW GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS IN TIRANA

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(facing p. 76)

646 who is in full possession of all his citizenship rights and can read and write the Albanian language, may be elected as a deputy.

644 All citizens are equal before the law and their citizenship and political rights secured.

425 Confiscation of property is definitely abolished.

659 The State recognizes no official religion, all religions are equal and have full rights and receive equally favorable treatment in every respect.

641 Foreigners enjoy equal rights with Albanian citizens, except they cannot vote nor hold parliamentary and certain other offices.

645 The official business of the State is carried on by the eight Ministries, namely: Ministry of Interior Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Brëndëshme), Ministry of Justice (Ministria e Drejtësisë), Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme), Ministry of Public Instructions (Ministria e Arësimit), Ministry of Finance (Ministria e Financave), Ministry of National Economy (Ministria e Ekonomisë Kombëtare), Ministry of Public Works (Ministria e Punëve Botore), and Ministry of National Defense (Ministria Komonda e Përgjithshme e Mprojtjes Kombëtare).

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

000 (Ministria Komonda e Përgjithshme e Mprojtjes Kombëtare).

631 The administration of interior affairs of the State are based on the laws of May 13, 1928. The State is divided into 193 communes, administered by ten Prefectures. These are: Tirana, Durazzo, Scutari, Dibra, Kosova, Elbasan, Korça, Berat, Vlona and Gjinokastra. The prefectures are assisted by 31 sub-prefectures. The centrum is the Ministry of Interior Affairs at Tirana. Every prefecture has attached an administrative council composed of the Prefect as President (Chairman) of the Council, the Mayor, and the next high official of the prefecture are members in addition to the four aldermen elected by each commune for two years. The sub-prefectures are the assisting organs of the prefectures. Prefects, Sub-Prefects and the Mayors are appointed by the Albanian Government and are State officials.

Villages with more than 2,500 population are designated as communes; villages with less population are attached to communes for administrative purposes.

692 At the seat of every prefecture exists a Superior Court, with appellate jurisdiction,

which is a court of original jurisdiction in 692 cases where sums over 2,500 Gold Francs are involved.

At the location of every sub-prefecture exists a Magistrate's court, with jurisdiction in civil and commercial affairs up to the sum of 2,500 Gold Francs.

Appellate and Supreme Courts are located in Tirana.

All courts have also criminal jurisdiction.

The laws administered by the courts are 671 based on the law of February 7, 1929.

The laws are administered on the basis of the Civil Code of May 1, 1929, which was prepared on the basis of the Italian, French and Swiss Codes; a Criminal Code of January 1, 1928, based on the Italian Codice Penale; the Commercial Code of March 10, 1932, with all modern inclusions covering bankruptcy and negotiable instruments; the Code of Civil Procedure of April 1, 1929, which is based on the Austrian and Italian Civil Procedure. The Civil Procedure Code and Criminal Procedure Code are under consideration for revision.

There is a Notarial Law of 1929, based on

671 the Italian example, and a Barrister and Solicitor Law, of 1931, modelled after the Austrian example.

675 The exemplary police and gendarmerie of Albania have been brought to a high degree of discipline and efficiency, the latter especially under the able command of Major General Sir Jocelyn Percy, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

Physical Features

ALBANIA, situated on the east coast of 131
the Adriatic Sea, southwest of Yugoslavia
and north of Greece, two and a
half hours distance from Rome by aeroplane,
has an area of about 11,000 square miles
(approximately the size of Belgium). The 133
larger part of the country is mountainous;
amongst the geographical and geological divisions
of the country the most familiar are
roughly as follows: Northern Albania consisting
principally of mountains; Central
Albania, between the Mati and the Viosa
rivers, is comprised of littoral plains; Southern
Albania is mountainous to the greater
extent.

From this simple picture we see that Albania consists of a marginal lowland, crossed by powerful perennial streams, and a mountainous hinterland which encloses small fertile basins. The Albanian Alps in the north consist mostly of massive limestones rising to a height of 6,500 to 8,500 feet. Scattered among these ranges are the rich summer pas-

133 tures, especially around Lake Scutari, also the lower slopes are used by the herdsmen.

The sea-shore is almost entirely flat and sandy; only in its southern regions limestone rocks, approaching the sea and combining their picturesque contours with the lavish beauty of the vegetation, create scenery of the highest charm and attraction. These mountains cease abruptly at about thirty miles from the sea-shore and become undulating hills which are used for farm lands. A large plain in a more south-westerly direction is called the "Plains of Myzeqeja." To the southward again appear the higher ranges and limestone is mingled with sandstone. These belts are heavily wooded and above the timberline are the usual high pastures. In the extreme east are three parallel mountain belts divided by the Black Drin river.

The main rivers in Albania are the Lower Drin flowing west to east, the Black Drin flowing northwards, the White Drin enters Albania from Yugoslavia and flows southwards to the Adriatic, gradually increased by the tributaries from the Albanian Alps. Other rivers are the Semeni, Viosa,

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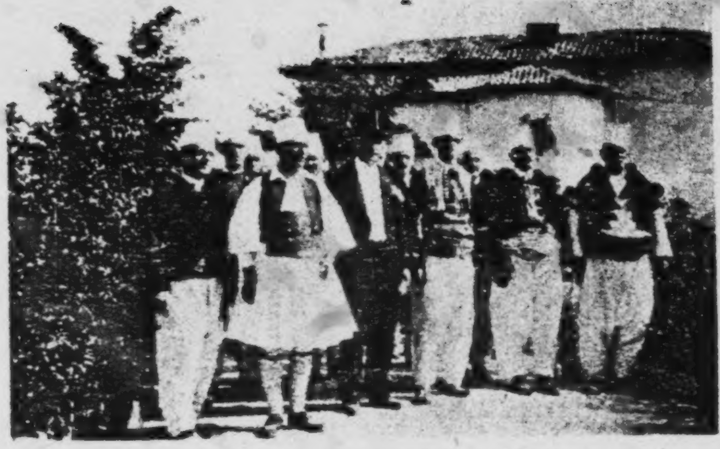


ALBANIANS IN NATIVE DRESS

(facing p. 82)

PHYSICAL FEATURES

133 Bojana, Shkumbi, Osumi and Devolli. Of the mamy lakes in Albania the Scutari with a surface of 137 square miles and Ochrida, with 104 square miles, are the largest with that of Presba, 131 square miles, and Malik, covering 20,000 acres, next in size. The more important ranges are the Pindus mountains and the Gramos range in the southeast. In the Shara range is Mount Lyuboten with an altitude of 8,230 feet. East of Berat and south of the Semeni river is the famous Mount Tomor, 7,861 feet in height. After passing Petrela, which is about ten miles from Tirana, one begins the long pull up to the summit of the Krraba Pass, which is one of the highest in Albania. From this point the Tomori and Krrab peaks, 7,861 feet and 7,933 feet respectively, stand out clearly. Krrab mountain is in the direction of Dibra (Dibër). From Cape Linguetta at the Bay of Valona to the south, there rises a range of peaks whose summits reach over 6,500 feet. Naturally this territory as far as the Gulf of Arta belongs to Albania by right.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

133 The extensive basin-shaped plains of eastern Albania—especially the plain of Metova in the upper region of the White Drin Valley, and the plains of Kosova and Tetova—are important to Albania. There are many lakes in these regions.

463 Agriculture and cattle raising are the principal occupations, with olives, the making of
241 olive oil, grains and tobacco being the prin-
135 cipal products of the country. But there is great mineral wealth (asphalt, arsenic, copper, iron, lead, lignite, naphtha, oil, and other mineral resources), which is largely yet undeveloped, and with time, possibly a very short time, through the development of the great abundance of these natural resources, including the fisheries, they will become the principal resources of the country.

162 Korça, Berat and Vlona, the Orthodox are also numerous.

795 The Albanian Orthodox Church came into existence in 1922, after the Congress of Berat, with the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople. This Church has four metropolitans: Durazzo, Berat, Argyrocastro and Korça. The Roman Catholic Apostolic Delegate and Archbishop are at Scutari, and there are five Catholic bishoprics scattered throughout the country.

It is known that Christianity came early to Albania for St. Paul says, "Round about Illyria have I fully preached the Gospel of Christ." The Albanians claim him as the first missionary among them.

771 Although religion is a strong force with the Albanians, it does not interfere with their patriotism and powerful nationalism. In the face of a demand on their loyalty Moslem, Roman Catholic and Albanian Orthodox become brothers in one cause.

It can be said that Albania is the only country in Europe where there is no religious dissension; they have always remained united at every period of their national history.

361

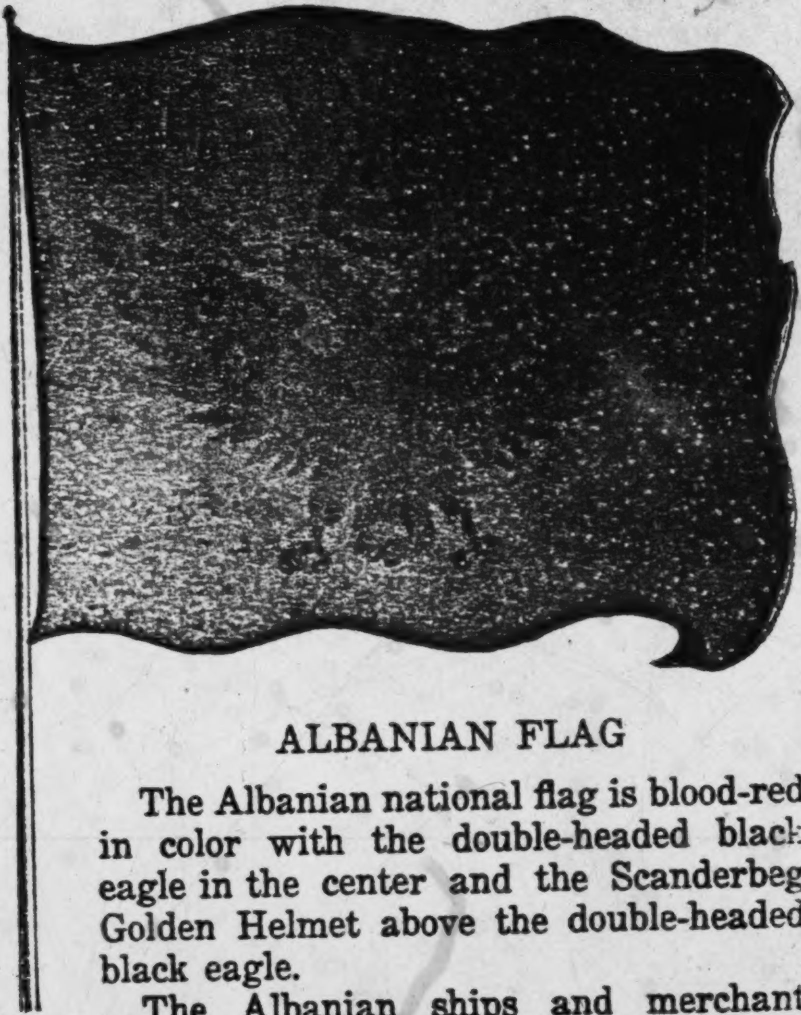
SANTI QUARANTA (SARANDA)

(facing p. 86)

POPULATION AND RELIGION

7V Mixed marriages are common in spite of the vast differences between Moslems and Christians.

162 Tirana, the capital, has about 35,000 in-
361 habitants, Durazzo (Durrës), the main port
504 of Albania, has 9,739, Valona (Vlona), second important port of Albania, 9,110, Elbasan 13,800, Scutari (Shkodra) 29,209, Argyrocastro (Gjinokastra) 12,500, Korça 25,000, Berat 10,500, Pogradec 3,400, Leskovik 2,500, Permet 3,000, Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the third port of Albania, 2,000, Delvina 4,000, Fier 3,700, Kruja, Kukës, Prizren Peshkopi, Dibër, Libohova, Kavaja, Lesh, Butrinto, Lushnja, Llixha, etc., are also well populated. San Giovanni di Medua is the fourth port of Albania. Butrinto Bay is also a harbour, measuring about a mile by 1,300 yards and has very good anchorage in 14 and 16 fathoms.



ALBANIAN FLAG

186

The Albanian national flag is blood-red in color with the double-headed black eagle in the center and the Scanderbeg Golden Helmet above the double-headed black eagle.

502

The Albanian ships and merchant marine carry the flag of commerce, which is red-black-red in color.

3: Redlich S-3 ~~(no date)~~ 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

The Albanian Language

THE Albanian language, as is spoken/97 to-day, is the only surviving representative of the Thraco-Illyrian group of languages, which formed the primitive speech of the Balkan peninsula. Its ground work and grammar are distinctly Indo-European, but the language is entirely different from the neighboring tongues. The proofs of its Indo-European origin are to be found in many of the personal pronouns as, *ty* meaning thee, *na* signifying we, *ju* as you; and the verbal forms as illustrated by *thom* meaning I say; *thotë*, he says; *thomi*, we say, and *thonë*, they say.

Professor Max Muller, speaking about the Albanian language, says: "This language... has been traced back to... .the Illyrian,..."

And also Strabo, in his writings, gives specimen of the language in his day, and also place names, and the strong resemblance of these to the modern Albanian fully justifies the Albanians in believing that the Albanian language is the direct descendant of that

191 spoken by Alexander the Great and King Pyrrhus of Epirus.

192 It stands to reason that, in the course of time, the Albanian language, as it is to-day, has become impregnated with numerous words of foreign extraction, which are necessarily much younger than the language itself, although there are positive indications that the Illyrian tongue exerted considerable influence upon the subsequent development of the grammar as it is used to-day. In spite of these fragments borrowed from innumerable sources, the native element predominates. Scarcely any words can be traced to the ancient Greek, whose influence barely reached Albania in classical days. Many words of Latin origin have become an integral part of the vernacular. Some of the Latin loan-words are obvious, for instance we have *katër*—four, and *qind* meaning hundred. The Albanian word *këndoj*, I sing or I read, comes from canto, also *qen*, meaning dog, is decidedly the Latin canis. And last, but far from least, there is *kujtoj* meaning I recall or I remind from the Latin cogito.

Albanian is a language of interest to the student, for this language, feeling Roman

Coo-

MOUNTAINOUS GRANDEUR OF DUKAGJINI

(facing p. 90)

192 civilization as it did, still absorbed it into its own speech, for the vocabulary has many Latin words, while the grammar and pronunciation have remained constant to indigenous forms.

197 Albanian is difficult to learn and more difficult to pronounce. It is divided into two dialects, that of the Tosks, which has more borrowed words, and that of the Ghegs spoken in the north and being the more primitive of the two. There is to be found only a very slight line of demarcation between these two dialects. A few indigenous words come directly from the Indo-European stock as shown in the dialect of the Ghegs, such as: *Dimën* meaning winter with its plural as *dimna* and *emën* meaning name and the plural form *emna*. In the south the Tosks have these same nouns only varying in form as the *n* between vowels becomes *r*—thus, *dimër*, *dimëra* and *emër*, *emëra*.

212 The alphabet employed in the Ghegian dialects is generally Roman.

197 Not only is the Albanian language spoken in Albania proper but also in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Turkey,

197 United States of America, Yugoslavia, and in such other countries where the Albanian emigrants have established themselves.

193 Upon examining the grammar, one finds that its most striking characteristic is its abundance of auxiliaries. The verbs have eight conjugations, distinguished by their infinitives.

197 To the scholar who investigates the language another striking feature presents itself, namely, that the Albanian language alone offers a satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the names of the ancient Greek gods and other Greek mythological creations. The facts in the case are so very convincing as to confirm the opinion that Greek mythology has been borrowed at one time in its entirety from the Illyrian-Pelasgians. For example, we see that Zeus survives even to this day in the *Zoti* (God) of the Albanian language which word is an ordinary, native oath used by the modern Albanians; Athena, the Latin Minerva, goddess of wisdom, has her derivation in the Albanian *e thëna*, which simply means speech. Thetis, goddess of water and the sea, would be but the Albanian *det*, meaning sea. Another example of great interest is the word

197 Ulysses, or the Greek form *Odysseus*, means traveller, in the Albanian tongue; *udhë* is interpreted as both travel and road.

The works of the great poet Homer abound with words that not only survive in the Albanian language but are also in constant use. Not only words but even phrases may be taken from Homer that possess all the earmarks of a typical Albanian expression. Were someone to interpret Homer from the standpoint of the Albanian language, a great deal of light would be shed on that renowned poet's works. Between the Homeric and Albanian sentences there is a striking resemblance of expression, phraseology and sentence structure. A study of this nature would aid in the interpretation of Homer, as the Albanian tongue is older than that of Greece, a great deal might be learned as to the influence of the former on the Homeric and subsequent Greek language.

To-day the historic name of Macedonia, formerly known as "Emathia" probably is derived from the Albanian word *E Madhia* meaning the great. Also we find for Illyria the word *liria* in Albanian meaning the freedom or liberty.

197 The Albanian language, as nationally spoken to-day, is a beneficial consolidation of the aformentioned two dialects—Gheg and Tosk—formed into a unified vocabulary without changing the essential meanings of the words. And in this manner all magazines, newspapers, school books, etc., are published throughout the nation.

The Zogu Family

BURGAYETI, encircled by four towering mountains that form natural barriers commanding an uninterrupted view of the surrounding country, is a small village in the Mati district. In the very heart of this picturesque little town rises a sheer, steep rock as if purposely so placed by nature as a watchful sentinel and guardian-angel of the vicinity. On the pinnacle of this mighty rock are the historic ruins of the grand old castle which was destroyed in the world war. As far as history can ascertain, this great, ancient castle dates from the fifteenth century, when legend narrates that Princess Mamica of Kruja, sister of the mighty warrior, Scanderbeg the Great, was given in solemn marriage to Zogu, Lord of Burgayeti Castle.

According to history, this ancient Albanian ruling family has its origin in the northern provinces of Albania, and gradually moving southward, made permanent settlement in the fifteenth century in the district of Mati. Having firmly established themselves in Burgayeti, Zogu with a loyal following of his Mati people rose in revolt against Gazi Bey, then the Turkish Governor of this district, who lost his life in the ensuing battle, and Zogu 173 seized the existing government, exchanged the Catholic faith for the more popular Islam religion, was accorded the hereditary title of Pasha by the Turkish Sultan, who later recognized Zogu Pasha as the hereditary prince ruler of Mati.

The next of this dominating family to enter the annals of history was Abdullah Bey Zogu, grandson of the victorious Zogu Pasha, who was killed in a valiant but fruitless battle for Albanian independence in 1621, according to the inscription of his tombstone. He was followed by his son Ahmed, who gallantly defended his country against invading enemies. Mahmud Pasha Zogu, son of Ahmed, upon his succession after his father's death, ruled Mati with an able display of his exceptional abilities. It fell to the lot of Djelal Pasha Zogu, son of Mahmud, to rekindle the ever-smouldering fires of rebellion against the foreign masters of Albania, and upon his return from Russia, whither he had been led by political

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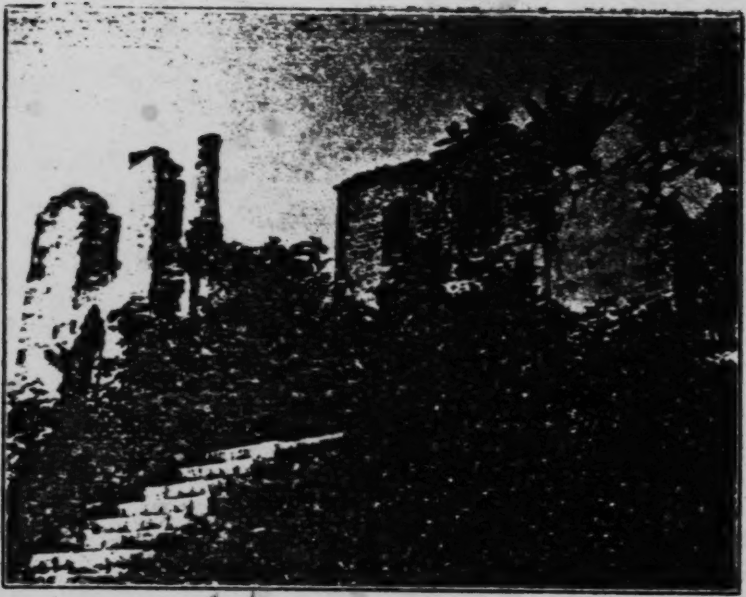

RUINS OF CASTLE OF THE ZOGU FAMILY IN MATI

(facing p. 96)

173 plans, he immediately assumed command of a renewed effort to acquire Albanian independence. This courageous leader was seized by the Turks and sent into exile at Constantinople, and he was succeeded in command by his son, Xhemal Pasha Zogu, who succeeded in clearing Mati of the invaders. It was to this ruler of Mati that a son was born on October 8, 1895—a son that was to prove a redeemer of the people for whom his ancestors had so bravely laid down their lives, and whose name is Ahmed Bey Zogu, the present King of the Albanians.

This powerful ruling dynasty, uninterrupted through the generations, had continued as the hereditary princes of Mati since the fifteenth century, and under whose untiring vigilance the Turks were never able to set foot into this part of the country. A council of elders, presided over by the head of the house of Zogu, shaped the destinies of the warrior-natives according to the *Kanun i Lek Dukagjinit*, the old law of the Albanian mountaineers collaborated in the course of the centuries.

175 Ahmed Bey Zogu's father died in 1908, in Ahmed's thirteenth year, during which time

175 the youth had remained in his native mountains, learning the invaluable lessons of wisdom taught by Mother Earth. At the death of his father, Ahmed being too young to assume the guidance of his people, his mother, Sadié, mentioned in a later chapter, with her amazing character and unfaltering judgment, with which her son is endowered, continued, as the rulers of Mati had done heretofore, to retain her people's independence and closely-knit union while her young son was studying and developing his clear-sightedness and exceptional will-power, first as a student of the Page Institute of Galata Serail and later at the Officer's Academy in Constantinople. Young Zogu remained in Constantinople until rumours of the impending Balkan war caused him to return in haste to his native land. War clouds were indeed darkening the horizon, filling Albania with great anxiety as to her future. The blow fell in 1912, when the Balkan war broke out.

Impelled by the fiery enthusiasm and optimism of his seventeen years, the young ruler of Mati marshaled his people and rushed to Scutari which was besieged by the Serbs. It was only after losing 200 of his ablest men in

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THE RIVER BED OF MATI

(facing 98

175 the ensuing battle that Ahmed Bey Zogu returned to Mati. At this time, a stirring call to all Albanian patriots was issued by Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora to convene at Valona, where on November 28, 1912, Albanian independence was proclaimed. As voting delegate of Mati, Ahmed Bey Zogu went to Valona, but as soon as the Valona Congress was adjourned, he hastened back to his district to defend it against the menace of advancing Serbs. For fourteen long, dreary months, Ahmed Bey Zogu, with a handful of men, fought the Serbs, and until their retreat, no Serbian soldier ever set foot on the soil of Mati.

The Great Powers began to realize, at the close of 1912, that an independent Albania was a political necessity if European peace was to be restored and maintained. So the Conference of Ambassadors at London, on December 20, 1912, recognized Albanian independence, and later nominated as Prince of Albania the Prince Wilhelm of Wied, who, on March 7, 1914, arrived in Durazzo. Buffeted by every kind of political intrigue between the rivalling interests of the Great Powers, having no knowledge of internal conditions in

Albania and antagonizing the local influences, the Prince of Wied could gain no foothold in the country. Thorough discontent and rising indignation was stirred up by ambitious politicians within and by the enemies without. Essad Pasha Toptani, who first professed loyal devotion to the Prince of Wied only to conceal his own ambitious aims, was the Prince of Wied's most dangerous opponent, and who, under the pretext of friendship, undermined Prince of Wied's position until revolution again broke out. During these turbulent times, Ahmed Bey Zogu was ever loyal to the Prince of Albania, looking upon his person as the embodiment of the State. However, recognizing the great danger the nation was risking by these selfish rivalries, Ahmed Bey Zogu did everything in his power to aid the Prince of Wied, but the intrigues proved too strong for him, and loathing to see Albania writhing again in civil strife, he returned to his home at Mati. The regime of the Prince of Wied was terminated before the outbreak of the world war, and upon his departure, the warring factions again attempted to run the country for their own ends, which only served to defeat themselves and did no good for Albania as a whole which was besieged from the exterior. 175

Finally, in 1916, Ahmed Bey Zogu recognized his opportunity to help his country, and as the Serbs retreated before the victorious Austrians, he began negotiations with the victors, clearing the country of stragglers of the fleeing armies, he hoisted the Albanian national flag on the Palace of Durazzo.

When the Austro-Hungarian High Command, in 1916, was looking for a commander of the Albanian volunteer troops the selection fell on Ahmed Bey Zogu. He was named the commander of the Albanian military forces and was commissioned by the Austrian High Command with the full rank of a colonel. He distinguished himself on the field of battle in a series of astonishing feats of daring. Once, single-handed, he captured a whole company of the enemy. Fortune had given Colonel Ahmed Bey Zogu all the great qualities of a leader. It was always Colonel Zogu who led his Albanian warriors into battle. Upon his resignation as commander of the Albanian troops he was invited to an audience with Emperor Karl of Austria, who bestowed on him the insignia of a commander of the Impe-

175 rial Austrian Order of Francis-Joseph. But when Austria discovered that he had intentions to re-establish Albanian administrative independence, he was invited to Vienna for a council of war and then treacherously interned. With the conclusion of the Armistice he returned to Albania, where he was entrusted by Turkhan Pasha, head of the Albanian Provisional Government, with the command of the Albanian troops. He saved Scutari from invasion by Serbian troops and he occupied Scutari, where he remained as governor until March 27, 1920, when the Congress of Lushnja was assembled.

From this point onward the life of Ahmed Bey Zogu is synonymous with the history of Albania. Suffice it to say that from 1918 he was the guiding and liberating spirit of Albania until he became, by unanimous acclamation of the Albanian people, on September 1, 1928, the King of Albanians.

"Scanderbeg II," as His Majesty King Zog I is often called by his subjects, is a fitting title for this great man who has led his country and people through war and strife to ultimate peace, just as the famous old national hero, Scanderbeg the Great, did centuries ago.

An Audience with the King

ON the morning set for the writer's audience with His Majesty King Zog I, we drove from Tirana directly to the beach of Durazzo, where the king was then occupying his summer "cottage." We stopped at the villa of the king's aide-de-camp, who, with the Chief of Protocol of the Royal Court received us, and, at the appointed time, accompanied us to the villa of the king which is situated directly on the sea.

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In the large ante-chamber, we were met by another aide-de-camp who led us to the reception room of the king. Here, in a handsomely and most tastefully furnished room, we stood in the compelling presence of the man who holds the destiny of Albania in his capable hands.

After the formal bows were made, we found ourselves shaking hands with the king, who, in his graciousness, seemed like an old friend. We were seated around a small table whereupon reposed several brands of cigarettes, and after we had each chosen a cigarette to our

000 taste, the conversation began to flow readily under the kindly suavity of the king.

We saw before us a tall, light-haired, well-built man, who just beginning the prime of his life, has hitherto led a vigorous out-of-door existence, which is still evident in his erect, healthy and military bearing. Even the strenuous unceasing work for the betterment of his country, has not succeeded in taking the elasticity from his carriage. The noble set of his head on his broad shoulders is proof against any weakness. The high and slightly broad forehead defies the clouds of anxiety to settle for long. But it is his eyes that draw and reveal the innate greatness of the prince become ruler. They are clear, grey-blue, shining eyes of the Seer, who ever keeps his goal in sight and marches steadfastly onward. His sensitive and fastidious nature is portrayed by his aquiline nose, but his mouth, shaded by a small, light mustache, shows that his sensitiveness is under iron control. A strong, clean-shaped chin instantly gives the observer an unfailing index to the king's character: courageous, well-tempered with reason, and is dominated over by a rigid will which brooks no sullenness nor pettiness in himself or in others.

He possesses great political acumen, consistency and constancy.

He is at his desk from early morning until late in the night. He does his work with zest, urbanity and serenity.

There is no doubt that the king is the leader of his people; his word is law—a law which is necessary and always most beneficial for the welfare of the country and people. He is most gracious and friendly and has the knack of putting everyone at his ease immediately. His smile is slow but brilliant as if letting one in on a secret known only to himself.

It was with genuine regret that we took leave after a pleasant ever-to-be-remembered seventy minutes with His Majesty, and we felt that we had truly been in the presence of a great and generous man and king who will unfalteringly lead his people to a definite prosperity and happiness.

An Intimate Glimpse into Albania

361 IT is like stepping from one world into another to visit Albania. Its naturalness and quaintness, which goes hand-in-hand with the native customs and costumes are still retained. It is a country of wild, unconquered mountains which have infused their strength into the inhabitants and given justification to their name: "The Eagle Men" —*Shqipetars.* These vast towering mountain ranges with their majestic peaks and forest-clad slopes, make up almost the whole of Albania, and have rendered invaluable natural assistance as barriers to attacking enemies. Their grandeur fills the human soul with awe before their solemnity. The picturesque towns, perched in the laps of these magnificent guardians, are studies for those interested in folklore. Situated as they are on tiny plateaus, with part of the towns straggling up the side of the mountains, and the narrow, little streets winding their way between high walls, they are invaded with an air of mystic knowledge that has been mel-

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

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MOUNTAIN VISTA

(facing p. 106)

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

361 lowed into them and is to be found in no other place in Europe.

These little hamlets are constant sources of surprise with their old traditions, native
614 songs and legends. In the more distant fastnesses of the mountains, the natives live in tribes as their ancestors did before them, generations ago, each tribe having distinctive ornaments for their costumes. There are hundreds of small farms scattered throughout the mountains; some in the valleys, others clinging to the side of a mountain, and still others perched on the summit of the lower knolls and even a few on the rocky heights. Their implements and methods are of the simplest
312 variety. Irrigation is their chief way of watering their fields, for water is plentiful. This delicious, cold, spring water has many sources in the heart of the mountains and is inexhaustible. The natives dig small channels, and where necessary, they make troughs for the water and lead it in zig-zag fashion down the mountain-side to their farms. There is nothing more refreshing nor cooling than this icy-cold fountain that Mother Nature has given the Albanians.

000 Albania is also a seat of historic interest,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E6-1

712 Albania is also a seat of historic interest having been the battle ground for many wars with the Greeks and the Turks. The national hero of Albania—Scanderbeg the Great—lived in Kruja, where, as a silent testimonial to this great hero's strength, are the remains of the old fortress. It looms directly above the town on a cliff, and the old Tower and lower massive walls still stand. If these old stones could speak, what a story they could tell of the Albanian struggle and strife against the invader! Throughout the country many strategic points are heavily fortified and many watch towers raise their white heads on mountain tops.

574 The Albanians are by far the most hospitable people in Southeastern Europe. Their doors are never closed and a friend cannot ask too much. They are charmingly naive in their manners and delightfully quaint in their cus-
461 toms. There is nothing of the hurried, hysterical existence in Albania; the natives are leisurely and get the full benefit out of their
493 sunny, mellow days. The city man is aware of a pleasant surprise at the lack of the constant blare of the motor horn; the peaceful serenity of the golden days is only broken by the occasional honk of the droschka and the cries of the street vendors.

cries of the street vendors. The nights, even 000
during the summer, are delightfully cool and
enjoyable; sitting in one of the comfortable
café gardens of Tirana with a cup of delicious 275
coffee! The old saying of "being killed with
kindness" is literally true in this unique
kingdom.

Upon leaving Tirana, the capital of Albania, 133
and journeying further into the heart of 311
the country, one comes more in contact with
the native aspect of this country in all of its
charm. The land, in the vicinity of Tirana,
is smooth and devoted to wide, rich fields of
maize and wheat. A few miles further on the
landscape loses its cultivated appearance and
the scenery becomes more wild and desolate,
and at the same time extraordinarily beautiful.
From plains the country rapidly rises
into rolling hills and rugged rocky mountains,
and becomes a country from Wonderland.

The first point of interest along this route 712
are the ruins of the Petrela Castle, which
dominated this district until the rise of Tirana
about 1600. However, fragments of tile proclaim
the fact that it was built for fortifying
purposes in ancient times, but the more evident
pro-Turkish brick and stone mortar de-

7/2 cisively date its construction in the early fifteenth century, as well as being frequently mentioned in the old histories of Scanderbeg the Great. Even to-day this point has not lost its strategic value as is proven by the trenches dug during the world war. Directly beneath these magnificent old ruins, a half-deserted village still holds its weekly bazaars—a strange contrast of the unceasing incongruity between the old and the new.

346 At this point are also four monasteries of dervishes: two Khalveti, one Rifai and one Hajati. The surrounding slopes are ablaze with irises during April, making a colorful and dainty setting for such severe buildings.

133 As the solidly-built road twists and turns up the majestic sides of the Krraba Pass, magnificent gorges, which form the head of the valley and which were cut in the course of the ages by winter torrents, come into view. At the summit of this mighty pass, eight hundred metres above sea-level and eighteen miles from Tirana, it is possible to gain a glimpse, on a clear day, of Durazzo (Durrës) and the Adriatic Sea. After having reached the top, the road, a result of much blasting, travels along the ridge of the mountains for some dis-

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A TYPICAL MOUNTAIN TOWN IN ALBANIA

(facing p. 110)

133 tance. On one side the rocks rise sheer and uncovered and on the other a deep precipice drops directly downward into seemingly bottomless depths. Only here and there a few farms dot the landscape. The trees at this 137 231 altitude are small oaks, with very grotesque appearance because of the absence of many branches, but this is explained by the fact that the poorer peasants cut them off and store them as winter fodder for their animals.

133 Gradually, glimpses can be caught of the immense fertile plain of Elbasan, with the River Shkumbi dividing it like a sharp, silver knife, and on one side of this magnificent range of mountains, rich in the shades of green and brown, roll away to the west. Just before beginning the descent from this ridge one should note that to the southward in this mighty range are to be found the two highest peaks of Albania: Krrab and Tomori. Krrab, 2,418 meters (7,933 feet), is really the higher, but it is the popular belief that "Father Tomori," 2,396 meters (7,861 feet), is the more lofty due to surrounding low hills. These twin peaks are accessible about five or six months out of the year, being entirely inaccessible on account of snow during the winter months.

000 cessible on account of snow during the winter months.

778 Much festivity pervades in this part of the country in the summer months, for tradition has it that on the summit of Tomori is the grave of Iman Abbas Ali to which many natives make pilgrimages every August from
346 the 19th to 28th. For this purpose, a monastery has been built 1,900 feet below the summit by the Bektashi Dervishes, where the pilgrims and visitors may lodge in comfort before the strenuous climb to the topmost
776 point; and it is another native belief that that top is the seat of the ancient sky-god, related to the Zeus of Dodona and Homer's Olympia, and only certain, privileged mortals may reach his abode, others being warned away by
773 nose bleedings and sickness. Also, there is said to be an inaccessible tree bearing golden apples growing on the summit. The peasants
778 often take oath by "Father Tomori," which mountain they regard with superstitious awe. Tourists to Albania often hear this mountain referred to as "The Olympia of Albania."

771 It is the district of Shpat at the base of
551 Mount Bokanik just to the east of this richly historical center that was in constant dispute

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

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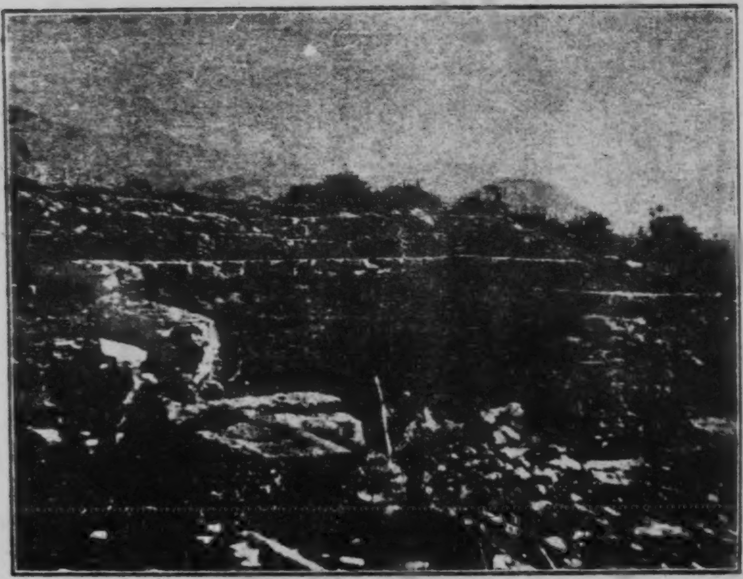

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RUINS AT FINIKE, ALBANIA

(facing p. 112)

771 551 years ago as to whether it was to be Christian or Moslem. Therefore, in silent compromise, the elder members of the inhabitants had two names: the Moslem one used for public purposes, and the Christian one used privately and for baptisms and marriages, for these ceremonies a priest was smuggled in and out of the neighborhood by night. It was only about thirty years ago that the Christians felt free to declare openly their faith; this was due greatly to the intervention of the Austrians and Russians. However, those of the older generation retain their Moslem names but their children have been given Christian names only.

312 529 757 Perhaps of greatest interest to one visiting this fascinating country for health purposes, will be the healing springs at Llixha, only a few readily negotiable miles from Elbasan. These most unusual springs are certain cures for various forms of rheumatism. The sulphuric waters are so healing that merely by the repeated emptying of cans of water over the body in the oriental fashion many cures have been effected. The ground around these springs is very warm, and until forty years ago, before the useful invasion of the modern

312 baths and hotels, the natives dug large holes
751 near the springs of the desired temperature
529 and saturated themselves therein until cured.
The weirdest phenomena of nature lies in the fact that the temperature of the springs is extremely varied: there are the cool, almost cold, enjoyable springs and others that are of varying degrees of heat up to the boiling point. It has been ascertained, however, that the mineral content of all the springs is the same. These famous sulphur baths have performed many seemingly miraculous cures, and are considered usurpers of Carlsbad; and what is more important, the price of living is unbelievably low. The price one pays a day
[435] in the average European capital would serve for three or four luxurious days in Albania. It is really amazing that the price of regained health should be so astonishingly moderate. The advent of comfortable and convenient hotels has greatly increased the value of these health-restoring springs, and make them the most desirable of their kind in Europe. One of the most outstanding of these hotels is the Park Hotel constructed on European lines with comfortable bathrooms, electric light and electrotherapy by a visiting doctor.

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

It is also to be noted, with interest to the 172 archaeologist, that there have been many traces found in the neighborhood of ancient Roman baths, but the secret of their architecture has been lost during the Turkish occupation, if not before.

Further into the north and central part of 776 the country is to be found the old Monastery of St. John Vladimir, the most important Orthodox monastery in Albania. Here abounds the richest folklore and tradition of the natives of Central Albania. St. John Vladimir is quite unknown to the rest of the Orthodox world, but great faith is placed in him by thousands of the people in that part of the country. History has it that John Vladimir was a Serbian prince, murdered in 1016 on the Island of Presba in Macedonia, by his brother-in-law, John Vladislav, the last of the mediaeval Bulgar Tsars of Ochrida. His body, buried in the Church of Our Lady at his birth place, soon became the object of a pious religious cult; and due to the gentleness of his personality, the horrible method of his death, and the strange lights said to be seen on his grave, the followers of his day proclaimed him [778] a saint, and his last resting place became renowned for its miraculous powers.

776 nowned for its miraculous powers. Fearing that the Serbs would steal the body and transfer it to Durazzo, the Greeks who occupied temporarily this section in 1215, exposed that town to so many attacks that this plan was soon abandoned, and in the next century this district fell into the hands of Charles Thopia of Kruja, a Catholic, but little distinction was made in the two branches of the religion at that time. It was the same valiant Thopia who removed the body of this saint to the monastery where it now lies. This church was rebuilt at the end of the nineteenth century, but as it became too small for its congregation, it was demolished and rebuilt in 1901.

346 This old monastery, built on mediaeval plans, stands in a shady olive grove, where the low, long line of monastic buildings with picturesque red-tiled roofs, are surrounded by a moat and a bridge, giving suggestion of the drawbridge and of high, lofty walls of an ancient fortress. The interior is an irregular square courtyard with the cells of the monks lining each side, and shaded by old galleries, underneath which were the storerooms and stables. The wood of these picturesque gal-

346 leries and the long proportions of the buildings, and the rich-hued tiles of the roof combined to make a unique harmony of color design. However, these cells have been uninhabited for some time, as the Orthodox monks have almost died out in Albania, and the monastery is now under the jurisdiction of a priest; but in due respect to their former occupants the wives of the priests do not go beyond the threshold of this old monument sacred to the memory of the devout ones who dwelt therein. To-day most of the cells are tenanted by the servants and aged dependents of the monastery, also, a modern comfortable guest-house is maintained for the use of visitors.

778 The remains of the saint are placed in the chapel, where the faithful peasants, on the days of pilgrimage and exposition in early September, make wild efforts to get close enough to place a handkerchief or scarf on the coffin and to preserve these in case of illness, at which time, if worn, are believed to possess healing powers, especially against malaria and other fevers.

342 Returning to the highroad one soon arrives at Bradshesh, where the peculiarity in the

342 dwellings immediately enables one to make
the distinction between the natives of this
district. The comfortable handsome stone
houses, with large galleries on the upper
stories before the living rooms and the stables
below, denote the typical Albanian peasant
homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the
small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

563 There are two kinds of gypsies in this in-
197 teresting country: one is the same as the
[162] English variety, speaking the quaint old
191 Romany, although knowing at the same time
the language of the country. This branch of
gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly
moving from one district to another, pitching
their temporary tents wheresoever they will.
[443] Their keenest interest is in horses and they
live by their tradings and quite often entirely
by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is
those, who, having forgotten almost all of
their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a
little Turkish where they are old enough to
have experienced the Turkish occupation of
Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up
533 tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their
535 daily bread in the simplest and most conven-
563 ient way possible for them: singing and danc-

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E61

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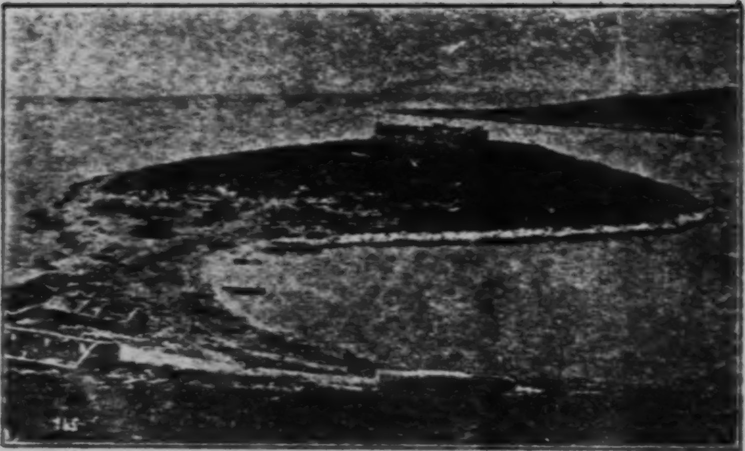

PORTO PALERMO (HIMARA)

(facing p. 118)

563 ing, accompanied by the women on tambour-
533 ines and they by the men on violins and
535 cornets. Their dances are picturesque in their native costumes with their hair either flowing or bound up, according to the particular dance. For those who may interpret their dances, there is a rich abundance of narrative in store for the reader. The harmony of tambourine, violin and cornet is not at all unpleasant when played by skilled musicians. The singing, however, is not harmon-
563 ized, the performers using only one voice.
[461] Regardless of where these gypsies may live they earn their living in the same way, and being too lazy to cultivate even a small truck-garden, they lead easy, happy-go-lucky exist-
[422] ences, and they have their huts free of rent, provided they work a few days out of the year for their ground landlord, Shevket Bey. Strange as it may seem, these wandering,
[326] anchorless people are about the only local blacksmiths found in this country, for the Albanians proper have a curious aversion to this occupation.

245 After leaving this quaint little town of Bradshesh, and penetrating into the heart of Albania towards Elbasan, large, beautiful

245 olive groves cover the surrounding hills turning them into lofty, dark mounds of rich olive-green. Amid all of this rolling naturalness
258 of Mother Nature, the new factory for refining the local[1] oil gives it a startling note of modernity. There is oil in plenty in these rich regions.

361 Rounding the corner of a hill, a sheer wall rises in the near vicinity, with a few, ancient spires soaring above it. Upon approaching the wall, its height becomes more apparent and which proves to be the historic old town of Elbasan, over which there hangs an aura of historic romance. This high wall gives the small city a most oriental appearance which is in truth, a reality, for Elbasan was founded by Sultan Mohammed II for the purpose of suppressing the natives of this district, because, in 1566, at the time of his conquest, there were few settlements in this region. The Sultan therefore built the town which
[103] is now known and called Elbasan, a word of uncertain derivation, but most probably being the Turkish *el basan*, meaning "*land subduing*," and which in all likelihood, was a copy of Alexander the Great's foundation of
000 Smyrna. Here also Mohammed II left several

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[1] [In the heart of Albania towards Elbasan --Analyst]

Here also Mohammed II left several pure-blooded Turks, a plantation which does 563 not seem to have occurred in any other place, for the great majority of the natives in this town today are of the Moslem faith, and strongly resemble the dark and powerful physiques of the Turks. The Christian inhabitants of Elbasan are all Orthodox, as this is the seat of an Orthodox Archbishop. The older Albanian colony has almost confined itself to the castle area, whereas, the Vlachs, first cousins to Rumanians, more recent inhabitants, have satisfied themselves with the southern area of the town.

The great, impressive old castle built by 712 Mohammed II is still in a fair state of preservation on two of its rectangular sides. The main part of the havoc that has been wrought upon this magnificent old pile was caused by Reshid Mehmed Pasha in 1832, when he quelled an insurrection in this area. The other part of the damage is due to the natural ravages of time and the elements. The castle proper is 1,060 by 1,000 feet and its massive old walls are nine feet thick. A small, daintily-designed mosque stood over the South Gate until 1920, when it was destroyed. There is no material evidence to 000

There is no material evidence to

563 the tradition that there was once a Jewish colony in Elbasan.

443 The picturesque brown bazaar is held once a week just outside the south wall, and nowhere in all Albania is there to be found such a grand confusion of color as among the native costumes on market-day, which is generally Saturday.

346 There are several fine old mosques which are gems of Turkish architecture, especially that of Nazireshe located near the Vlach quarter, and it is one of the oldest and most beautiful in the country.

Among the newer buildings are the archaeological museum, the Baholi library, the normal school, erected at the foot of the dense olive groves just north of the town, and the 274 new Alcohol factory a very few miles along the road leading to Korcha (Korça). The 485 Grand Hotel and the Hotel Adriatik, with excellent European and native cuisines, add much to the desirability of visiting this Albanian center.

000 A strange, weird beauty is found among the olive groves at Elbasan, and the many walks through these young forests are indeed delightful. They add a strong note of contrast,

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BUREL IN THE ALPINE FOOTHILLS

(facing p. 122)

3: Redlich S-3 (no d[illegible]e) 1936 EG1 Albania EG 1

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

000 with their dusky green leaves and snarled old roots and trunks, to the grey, white and sun-baked shades of the dreamy little town, and all this set like a tiny little drop on the vast, fertile plain.

132 Elbasan is well-known for its great variety
of products, made possible by the rich soil
of the plain. The town, sheltered by the immense old wall, enjoys a somewhat hot-house
atmosphere, for which it should indeed be
grateful, for it becomes terrifically cold
during the winter months when the east
winds sweep over it from the mountains of
133 Librazhd. These great monarchs, snow-crowned ten months of the year, which
surround the plain are very cool even in
August, making them delightful resorts from
the heat of the plain.

241 This district is versatile in that it can produce, in this dual atmosphere, both the products of the north and the south. There is
an abundance of cotton, rice and tobacco, as
245 well as maize, barley and wheat. And unlike
many of its neighbors, it has its own figs,
grapes, melons, oranges, lemons and olives
growing on the plain, and apples, pears,
raspberries and various other northern fruits
mellowing into ripeness on the mountains
surrounding Elbasan.

p. 123

S. Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

000 mellowing into ripeness on the mountains
137 surrounding Elbasan. These same mountains[1] are well-timbered, giving rich promise of
136 future wealth. However, these mountainous forests are so dense and wild that they are veritably thick with bears, wild boars, wolves and other savage animals, an excellent but dangerous opportunity for the game-hunter.

131 Being the center from which all the roads radiate; to Korcha (Korça) in one direction, and to Durazzo (Durrës) in the other, Elbasan may be rightly called the "naval" of Albania. This old center of Turkish strife is also the natural boundary between the Ghegs and the Tosks: northern and southern
197 Albanians. It also marks the difference in the pronunciation of the native dialects. North of the River Shkumbi many words have an "n" where on the southern side these same words have an "r." The dialect spoken by the inhabitants of Elbasan is intelligible to the natives in either of the extremes of the country, being proverbially as beautiful as the Greek of Athens and the Turkish of Constantinople. For this reason the native tongue, as spoken by an Elbasanian, has been adopted as the basis of the language of the whole country.

[1] [of Librazhd--Analyst]

as the basis of the language of the whole country. 000

The majority of the villages between Tirana and Elbasan are Moslem, due to the invasion of the Turks. Many of these little hamlets have preserved the tradition of having received visits from the mighty Scanderbeg the Great, the national hero. 563

A view of Albania from an aeroplane, is like looking down upon a checkerboard of blazing colors. On one side, the home-made brick huts of the peasants situated on the pebbled-banks of the river amid waving green fields of maize, and on the other, the sunburnt stucco of the new buildings, surrounded by lovely old-fashioned gardens, with the bright mosaics of the mosques with their golden spires lending rich hues to the already bewildering mass of color, a subject fit for an artist's brush. The ancient in contrast with the modern—past and present walking hand in hand. Age old fortresses and castles and modern buildings; narrow, winding streets and wide, spacious boulevards; palaces of glistering white and the ageless ruins of bygone glories. This thriving country, seen from the air, seems to glitter and shimmer 361

36/ under a bright sun amid the encircling majestic heights of the mountains, leaving the ~~observer a well-stored memory of the ageless mystery of the country,~~ the charming graciousness of the people and scenery never to be forgotten.

543 If one were to set before himself the map of Europe and tried to find the one country in Europe that has been the seat of the greatest controversies, the land of the most invasions and exploitations, the most disputed territory of all Europe for many hundreds of years before Christ up to the twentieth century, that country would in truth, be Albania. For these reasons, the National Museums of Tirana, Elbasan, Fier, Valona and those of the other Albanian cities are treasure houses for those interested in archaeology and history, for there are to be found many relics of these influences. There are priceless and interesting excavations of prehistoric Albania as well as many valuable pieces from the Greco-Roman period. It is also necessary to mention here the marvelous Acropolis of Fenike, the porticus and the various statues and busts from Pojani. There are hundreds of other pieces of historic value that are worthy of notation here, but

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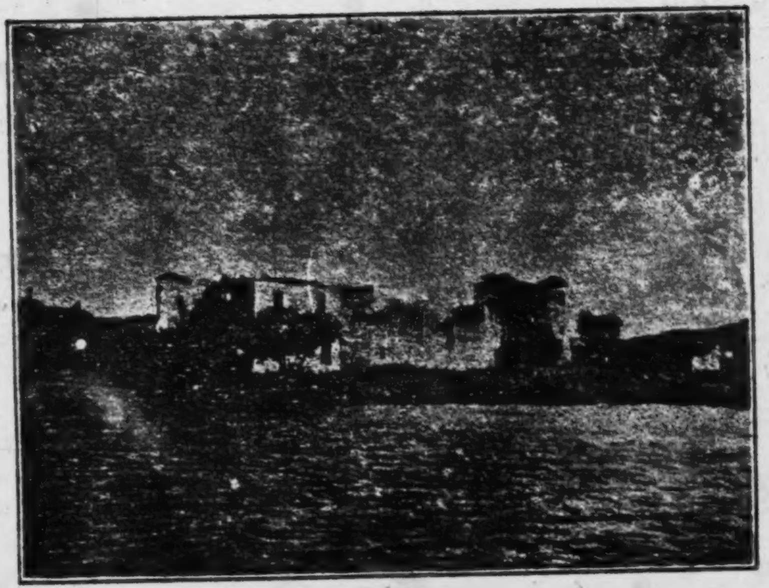

BUTRINTO'S MEDIAEVAL FORTRESS

(facing p. 126)

543 space forbids this long list; suffice it to mention as a last source of interest, Butrinto (ancient Buthrotum) with treasures beyond price of antique art and architecture which will captivate the admiration of all who appreciate classical beauty in its purest expression: The Greek porticus and the Temple of Asklepios, the Roman Theatre of the third century before Christ, the statues, the intricacies of the many-colored mosaic works, the magnificent workmanship on the Baptisterium of the Byzantine era, and so forth.

Albania's Contribution to History

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FOR 2500 years Albania furnished able, efficient and loyal leaders and soldiers to Greece, the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, Serbia and to the Venetian Doges and Turkish Sultans.

Albania also gave Turkey generations of Albanian Grand Viziers, Generals and many of her highest officials whose names are prominent in Turkish history.

Albania gave Egypt a ruling and still existing royal dynasty—the present Egyptian King being of Albanian origin. The founder of the present Egyptian dynasty was Muhammed Ali (Mehemet Ali), who was born in Albania and was a pure Albanian. Early in 1805, the Egyptian people prepared a formal statement of their wrongs endured under Khorshid Pasha and requested Muhammed Ali to govern them. He was invested at once and soon thereafter a messenger from Constantinople brought a firman confirming Muhammed Ali as Vali (Governor) of Egypt. His rule began on May 13th of the same year.

With the aid of his son, Ibrahim Pasha, he built a powerful State. The government of the Pashalik of Egypt was made hereditary in the family of Muhammed Ali about 1841. He died on August 2, 1849, aged 80. The present-day King of Egypt is a direct descendant of this same Muhammed Ali. 000

The most famous of all emperors of the Eastern Roman Empire was Justinian I (483-565)—Flavius Anicius Iustinianus—surnamed the Great. He was a native of Tauresium in Illyria and was in all probability born on May 11, 483. His real name was Upraudа. Iustinianus was a Roman name taken from his uncle Justin I, who adopted him and gave him his education and advancement which he used so prosperously. Nothing is known of his early life except that he was born in Albania (Illyria), of Albanian parents, that he went to Constantinople where he received an excellent education. Upon the death of Justin I, in 527, and as he had been associated with him as co-emperor for four months, there was no opposition to Justinian's succession to the throne. He married the famous Theodora in about 523, who, as empress regnant, was closely interested and

000 associated with all his actions until her death in 547. The reign of this mighty emperor was filled with great events both domestic and foreign and in peace and in war. These may be classed under four headings: (1) his legal reforms; (2) his administration of the empire; (3) his ecclesiastical policy; and (4) his wars and foreign policy generally.

Of Philip of Macedon and his son, Alexander the Great, we have spoken of elsewhere, but that they were not Greeks nor were they Macedonians is set forth by Aristotle, Plutarch, Herodotus and Demosthenes. It is a provable fact that they were the forefathers of the Albanians.

To Greece Albania gave great leaders in diplomacy, politics and statesmanship as well as generations of able soldiers. The famous Greek Dictator Theodore Pangalos, the well-remembered Greek Admiral and later President of Greece, Paul Coundouriotis, General Danglis, Repoulis, Miaoulis, Sanctouris, and others, were Albanians or of Albanian origin.

Master Sinan, who was the leader in the creation of the highest periods of Turkish architecture in the sixteenth century, was an Albanian.

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THE ANCIENT THEATRE OF BUTRINTO

(facing p. 130)

ALBANIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO HISTORY

000 The great Italian statesman, Francesco Crispi, (1819-1901), who was an intimate friend of the Iron Chancellor, Prince von Bismarck, was of pure Albanian origin.

Emperor Diocletian of Rome, Emperor Constantine, who was the first Christian ruler of Europe, Saint Jerome, who translated the bible into Latin and thus helped to christianise Europe, Canari, Chavella, Bochari and others, leaders in the Greek wars of liberation, were all Albanians.

John IV, pope from 640 to 642, an Albanian by birth, succeeded Severinus after an interval of four months. While he adhered to the repudiation of the Monothelite doctrine of his predecessor, but tried to explain away the connection of Honorius I with the heresy. Pope Clement XII was of Albanian origin.

Alexander Moissi, a descendant in the direct line from Moisi Golemi, a follower of Scanderbeg the Great, was of Albanian origin.

Charles (Karl) von Ghega, the builder of the Semmering (Austria) railway, was of Albanian origin.

Climate

132 ALBANIA lies in the north temperate zone. It is mid-way between the north pole and the equator. This position gives the climate its characteristics—moderate heat, sufficient moisture and a suitable distribution of atmospheric pressure throughout the year.

Albania has three climates: the Mediterranean, the continental and the temperate continental, due to the alignment of the mountain ranges which leaves the country open towards Central Europe and the Pannonian plain.

The Mediterranean climate exists only in the narrow strip of coastline between the mountains and the sea and to a height of 1,300 metres at most.

During the summer there are large patches of snow on the higher peaks, and, were the temperature a little different, these patches would become a ridge of snow-caps.

The winters are not too cold, often broken by warmer days. There is a moderate rain-

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HIMARA ON THE MOUNTAIN

(facing p.132)

132 fall during this season. The summer days are very warm between eleven and five o'clock, at which hour the temperature drops to a delightful coolness which makes even the indoors very comfortable and a coat becomes necessary outdoors. The heat is not as intense as the thermometers would have us believe for the summer climate is very dry and not of the humid variety that makes one so uncomfortable in some climates.

The coastal cities are rapidly becoming fashionable summer resorts for foreigners on account of the mild, summer temperature.

The continental weather predominates in the central portion of Albania causing coolness to last throughout the summer. This climate is also general in the southern sections. Also in these sections the winters are damp with the heavy rains starting in November. While the coastal cities of Durrazzo (Durrës) and Valona (Vlona) have a milder winter of not lower than 8° or 9° Centigrade. There is little of the intense freezing that one finds in North America.

Here in Albania the artistic beauties are wedded to the beauties of nature and climate. This health-giving atmosphere makes a visit

132 to Albania, whether for rest or recreation, a most delightful one. In the summer, one is not troubled by climatic changes — the weather is consistent with its season. There are no sudden heat waves, cold waves or storms as are to be found in many climates. Nor does the temperature take quick leaps up and down.

This invigorating climate, combined with the natural beauty and historic lore of this enchanting country, causes this "Gem of the Adriatic Sea" to be the most ideal and delightful place to spend a vacation.

Touristic

000

ACROSS the saga of the ages, through the dramatic chapters of romance, adventure, bravery and heroism, the story of Albania is the story of the ancient civilization triumphantly marching from East to West. Back to the dawn of history the migratory tribes came westwards, Pyrrhus, Alexander the Great, Caesar, Cicero, Pompeius, Roman Emperors, Turkish Sultans, Scanderbeg the Great, Venetian Doges, Angevin Princes and legions of others who led the march for the freedom of men and the realization of man's ideals, all finally saw their destinies shaped among the mountains, plains and seashore of this valiant country. Certainly, the shadows of Scanderbeg, the national hero, and Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora, the father of modern Albania, to-day guard from fortress walls and council tables the heritage of "The Sons of the Eagle."

To-day, many of those searching for new places, new adventures, new customs, have

100 found Albania to give them their hearts' desire.

What other country, besides Albania, can offer to the pleasure-seeker a combination of the warm waters of the Adriatic lazily lapping away the hours on dazzling white sand, and the tall, majestic, cloud-tipped mountains, an extremity of the Alps, just in the background? But of more interest to the traveller are the natural and picturesque little towns, now perched loftily on a mountain shoulder, now snuggled dreamily in a cozy green valley, all abounding in a wealth of native folklore and tradition that is as original and unique as the little towns themselves. To seek out their quaint old houses, to visit the shrines of past glories, to explore the massive fortifications and monuments will give the sensation of having stepped into a hidden treasure house.

133 In Albania a range of the Alps raise their proud heads as high as 8,500 feet to the sun, towering over their surroundings like veritable monarchs of the earth, which would easily lead one to imagine that the natives of these lofty regions are either sun-worshippers or imitators of that lonely bird which frequents

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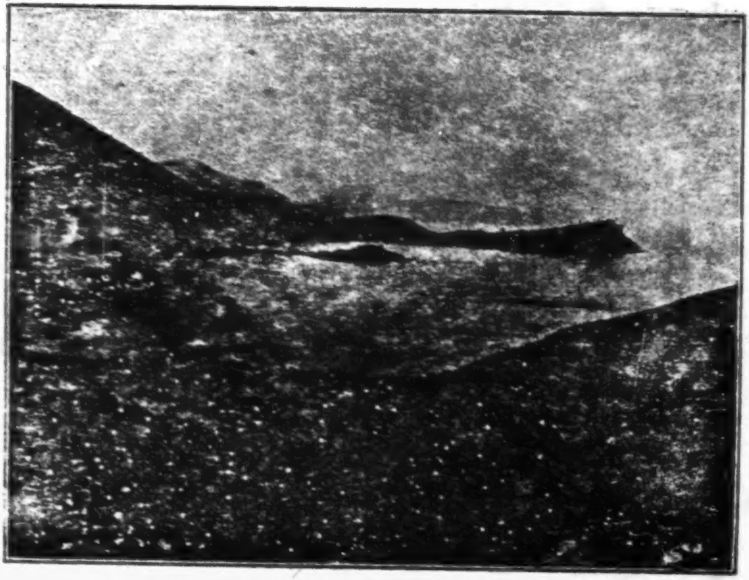

THE ALBANIAN RIVIERA NEAR HIMARA

(facing p. 136)

133 their heights—the Eagle; and the latter guess
would be the true index to the character of
the inhabitants—courageous, strong and en-
[137] during. These mountains, covered with stately
pinewoods and beautiful forests of beeches
and olives many hundreds of years old, are
often cut into deep, mysterious gorges and
lovely green valleys which lend their soft, rich
and dark colors to make a picture worthy of
the talents of a master.

The natural geography of Central Albania is that of littoral plains, imperceptibly changing into smooth hills with dense oakwoods, which encircle and hold as precious secrets many wide and fertile basins. These rolling hills further to the south, heighten into mountains of unusual grandeur, intersected with wooded ravines and sheer precipices. For those who are irresistibly attracted by the invading charms of the solitary plains, the typical character of the Karst of these higher regions holds a peculiar fascination; also the lonely splendor of the bare, rocky, limestone cliffs and summits, haunted by the mountain eagle.

489 Transportation in Albania is of the pleasantest sort—by air, by automobile or by

489 steamer. Albania has no railroad. This fact is readily ignored for a view of a country from a moving train is no view at all. Travelling is more delightful when we can stop wheresoever we will please and enjoy ourselves to the fullest. And when the time comes for a regretted farewell the aeroplane is much faster and far more comfortable.

000 The most well-known of Swiss and Tyrolian landscapes are in no way superior to the picturesque mountain lakes of Ochrida and Presba in Albania; their clear and limpid waters reflect the varied shades and colors of their rich surroundings and the magnificence of the Balkan sky in an unbelievable harmony of hues, pierced occasionally with a flash of red or gold or black as the rich, wild water darts hither and yon.

However, as stated above, the more lasting charm of Albania lies in the varied little villages and the unusual originality of the people expressed by their colorful and characteristic costumes, rather than in the exceptional beauty of the country. Here a friendly people seek to gratify every wish and whim of the visitor, to make him feel at home and welcome so that he will quickly return to this delightful country.

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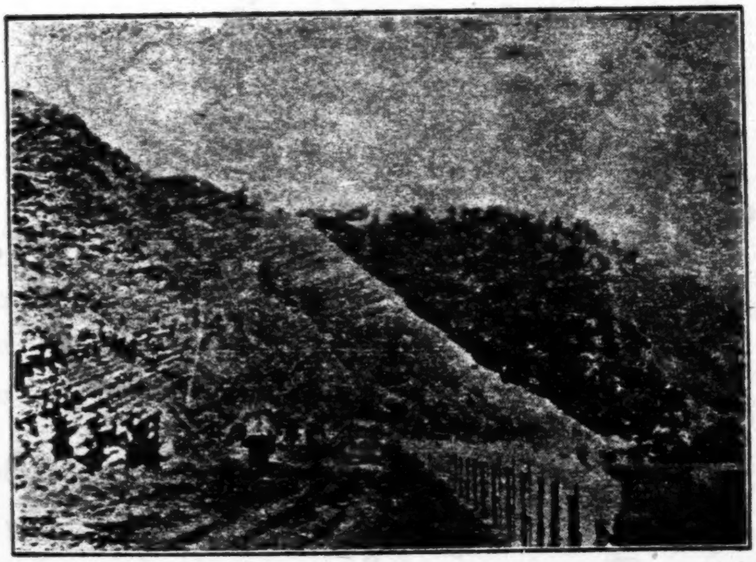

THE ANCIENT VIA EGNATIA
Along the Riverside Drive of the Shkumbi River

(facing p. 138)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Hunting with the Gun and Camera

224 GAME throughout Albania is plentiful both in the hills and in the sea and the lakes. Especially in the northern Alps, where in many places man has never set foot,
[136] there is a great quantity of big game. Bear, deer, cats of almost every species, fox, wolves, etc., have all at some time or other made their presence known. Many of the natives of these regions are expert huntsmen and have learned the habits of these beasts as well as any man ever will. They have acted as guides for many parties and the members of such groups have returned enthusiastic with ample proof of their prowess and bigger stories about "the one that got away." These men always come back for another adventurous holiday having left their wives to sight-see throughout the country and at the end it is hard to tell which one has more enjoyed his or her holiday.

136 All of the lakes of Albania possess a limit-
226 less amount of fish of all varieties. Lake Scutari is considered the wealthiest in this respect, especially in eels. There are some

p. 139

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania ECTl

136 interesting hours to be enjoyed by those who
226 derive keen satisfaction from this sport. The elusive trout can make a difficult goal when pursuited to his familiar haunts in the mountain streams. Or if more adventurously inclined to test one's ability over the broad bays and lagoons or cruising the deep seas and matching the lightning skill of the tarpon or sail fish which is ticklish work for the best of the "Isaak Waltons." To the man who has felt inwardly proud of his mess of perch, just let him realize his dreams of great fishing in Albania.

136 For camera studies in Albania, bird life presents itself as the best subject. The most ordinary bird in this country is the common jay, but also in the Acroceraunian mountains is found the elusive, great black woodpecker, whose presence was authenticated for the first time in 1935. In this region the magpie is not very common.

In the forests near Durazzo there is a variety of feathered life, such as six species of woodpecker, jay, hawfinch, nuthatch and short-toed tree-creeper. Nests of the black woodpecker were discovered in the forests in the Drin valley along with the hazel grouse

p. 140

HUNTING WITH THE GUN AND THE CAMERA

and the capercaillie, Europe's biggest game 136 bird.

In the more travelled forests the common nesters are the nightingale, Cetti's warbler, sub-alpine warbler and cirl bunting. The lakes and bogs of Bojana have a number of purple herons, great egrets, and bitterns. Among the lake nests at Durazzo are the yellow-legged herring gull and the pelican, and also the Dalmatian pelican at the Kravasat Lagoon.

Small birds found in the highest mountains are the alpine accentor and alpine chough, and in the lower ranges are the skylark, linnet, partridge, rock-trush and wheatear, which bird is the traditional "sign of spring;" dippers haunt the mountain streams.

The Imperial Eagle is fairly common in Albania, and is smaller than the golden eagle and has a white patch on its shoulders. This eagle is a bird of prey and was found nesting in a huge plane tree in open country below Delvina. The booted Hawk-Eagle, about two feet long with white shoulder patch and long legs, nests in the Logra Forest. Hobbies and small, beetle-hunting falcons infest the swamps of Fier and Lushnja. The sea-eagle

p. 141

136 is to be seen fishing at Butrinto Bay, while there is an old established eyrie at Durazzo Lake which sells the young annually.

Other birds of prey are the harrier-eagle, a long-tailed, dark brown bird with small chest, and the Egyptian vulture, a bird a little larger than the buzzard and uglier by reason of its color of dirty white, black-tipped wings and bare, yellow skin. These birds live principally around Durazzo, Logra Pass, Saranda and Valona.

Valona and Saranda, with vast numbers of storks, have been mentioned elsewhere in this book, but it is amusing to see these great birds, mostly white, following the ploughs with ambling ungainly strides in search of worms.

The common heron, as found in Great Britain and most of Europe, is to be seen in many districts of Albania.

There is an abundance of wild duck in Albania of the black and white tufted variety along with the diving duck, the pintail and the gargeney, all to be found mainly on Durazzo Lake. On a little island near Corfu is the common wild duck or mallard of Europe

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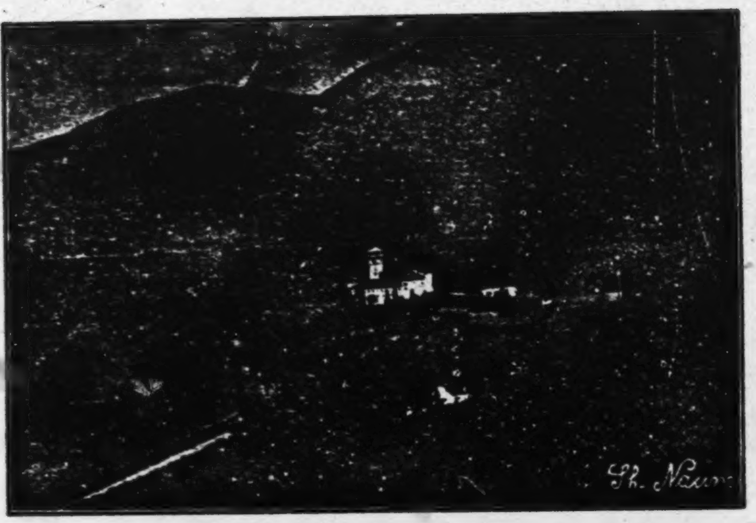

ST. NAUM

(facing p. 142)

136 nesting with a large colony of yellow-legged herring-gulls.

For a delicious meal, one should try the wood-pigeon or ring-dove, so common in England, that stays mostly in the Logra Forest, where also nests the Robin as high as 2,500 feet.

The hooded crow, jackdaw, the raven, golden oriole and chaffinch are common birds of Albania. The nesting chaffinches examined were found to be the subspecies *Fringilla coelebs balearica.*

Spanish sparrows and common blackbirds are widespread, and in the nesting season, the white wagtail is confined to the shoreland cliffs and boulders.

Tirana

361 TIRANA, capital of Albania, founded in 1600 by Suleiman Pasha, has grown, in the last few years, from a small town to a large, modern city with flowered squares and gardens surrounding the many café houses and other places of amusement, and with well-lighted streets, comfortable hotels, residences and prosperous business houses, wherein beats the heart of a progressive nation.

The city is located in one of the fertile plains of Central Albania, surrounded by a chain of pleasant hills rapidly rising to more lofty heights, and dominated over by the Dajti mountain which rears its majestic head 5,000 feet above the city. From this point is seen one of the most beautiful of panoramas in Albania with the gentle undulating hills to the sparkling Adriatic; to the north are mountains of impressive grandeur rising to breathless heights; on the south and east are farms scattered over the plains which, from

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

361

A THOROUGHFARE IN TIRANA

(facing p. 114)

361 this height have the appearance of a colorful checkerboard of the gods.

363 Tirana also has many modern boulevards, recently laid, equalling the cement boulevards of any cosmopolitan city, as well as all the modern conveniences that one finds in other capitals of the world.

367 In the large city park, music is provided every afternoon by the Royal Court Orchestra and where people promenade to the strains of Beethoven, Puccini, Strauss and Wagner.

644 In the center of Tirana is located the beau-
tiful Royal Palace, lying in the midst of an
351 immense, well-cared for garden. This garden
is one of the show places of Tirana and has a
large collection of rare flowers.

344 Also in the central part of the city in a vast square are to be found a group of modern and most convenient office buildings, wherein the various departments of the government—the Prime Minister's office, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Interior Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of National Economy, the Ministry of Public Instructions, the Ministry of Public Works, the Parliament and others—are housed.

000 All foreign legations, except that of Great

648 All foreign legations, except that of Great Britain, are located in Tirana. The British Legation is in Durazzo (Durrës).

366 To an eager tourist Tirana's allure will lie in the bazaars located in the side streets away from the center of the city, where craftsmen have plied their trades for centuries. Side by side are the shops of the silver- and goldsmiths and the displays of pottery, tapestry, and the laces and skillful handwork of the Albanian women will catch the feminine eye.
363 Those who never tire of the unique and intriguing will be swept along through a maze of streets that have nothing in common with the progressive edifices in the modern section of Tirana. Through these narrow streets which offer every form of merchandise in its own interesting way, the explorer will come
342 on the outskirts of the city to the small huts of peasants, made of sun-baked bricks of surprising endurance surrounded by the usual fence or wall, and here one touches a life that is different—prompted by traditions and cultures that have come down from person to person, perhaps from the days when modern progress was not even a dream.

346 Among the numerous other sights not to be missed in Tirana are the Mosque of Suleiman

346

A MOSQUE IN TIRANA

(facing p. 146)

TIRANA

346 Pasha, built in 1645, and that of Etem Bey in
1835, both of which possess a group of excep-
tionally valuable and *wonderful paintings*
and mosaics distinct in their kind. The Na-
543 tional Museum of Tirana is of unusual inter-
est, containing the ancient and the modern:
Priceless antiquities from the excavations of
various cities in Albania, along with models
of the native dress worn in various districts.

Tirana is now the residence of the head of the Albanian Orthodox Church.

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Durazzo

361 IN a setting that has no rival in Europe, is the small town of Durazzo (Durrës), which Cicero called "admirabilis urbs," the summer residence of King Zog I. There is great historic charm about this ancient city with century-old narrow streets reminiscent of the days of swaggering Roman invaders—crumbling fortresses and towers, battered by many fierce attacks of yore, grim sea walls that tell of slumbering memories, all in vivid contrast to the modern city that Durazzo has become.

Situated at one end of a natural bay, with stately mountains forming the immediate background, this unique city has advantages that are the desire of every vacation seeker. The neat white stucco houses with dim, cool interiors, and on the outskirts of the town, a few small red, mud-brick native cottages, form a vivid contrast to the sapphire blueness of the Adriatic Sea and the dark, olive-green grandeur of the mountains upon which half of the town is built.

A VIEW OF DURAZZO

LOOKING SEAWARD FROM DURAZZO

(facing p. 148)

DURAZZO

/03 Durazzo, the principal port of Albania, is one of the richest in historic traditions in the world. About six hundred years before our time counting, Durazzo was the city of Epidamnus which later became Dyrrachium, one of the powerful and most important Corinthean possessions. While it was called Epidamnus it experienced a leading role in the Peloponnesian war caused by the politics in that city. It was in old Dyrrachium that Caesar and Pompeius fought the greatest battle of that ancient civilization for the supremacy of the world; it is the so-called Porta Romana, and was the gateway for the Imperial Roman legions into their more easternly possessions by way of the Via Egnatia which began here and led through Salonica [7/2] to Constantinople. Remnants of the Roman-built city walls, with the gate of the old Roman fortress, are still standing, relics of the mighty civilization that existed many centuries before Christ. In the third century before Christ Durazzo was the prosperous capital of Roman Epirus and had also, previously, been the capital of the old independent Epirotic Kingdom. Later, in the middle ages, Durazzo was under the Doges of Venice, 103 and this influence also had left its mark on the town. Then came the Anjous of the Neapolitan line who were the first to assume for themselves the title of King of Albania. However, during the four hundred years of Turkish domination, some of the Byzantine and Venetian architecture was altered or destroyed by the invaders. To-day, picturesque Durazzo lies peacefully on the Adriatic converted into a thriving modern city, amid all 504 of its interesting ruins, with an ideal port that has become a growing center for both sea-going and general trade, and the largest 277 cigarette factory in Albania is located here.

504

THE PORT OF DURAZZO

(facing p. 150)

Durazzo Beach

529 ALONG the crystal-white sands of the beach and on to the opposite end of the bay, are comfortable villas not more than fifty yards from the water. The last villa in this scattered row belongs to the King of the Albanians.

Looking from the far end of the beach towards Durazzo, one is faced with a view that contains more color than the Entrance of the Bay at Naples. There is the same rich blue of the water and its reflection in the vast, blue vault of the heavens, the various startlingly vivid colors of the town with two or three slender, graceful spires rearing their gold-tipped heads upward and here the resemblance ends: Naples has no more; but Durazzo presents a picture nestled into the olive-green and brownness of the surrounding mountains —like a rare and priceless opal placed on a piece of half-blue and tawny velvet.

342 The villas are built comfortably of stucco and native stone and are very light and airy. It will completely astonish some to learn that

342 these five and six room villas can be built for, including the price of the land, from $800.00 to $1,500.00 and[1] live as comfortably as in a city with much more offered them; and strange as it may seem, there are only about a dozen villas, most of them belonging to government officials, along this ideal beach, with its white, clean sand and the cool waters of
529 the Adriatic. Nothing is more enviable than to see these people on a hot morning taking a cool, refreshing "dip" before breakfast and to walk back—fifty yards—to their front porches for a delicious meal—taking life easily and leisurely and enjoying it to the fullest. For those who work all winter in a close office, the warm, healing air of the Adriatic is as a rebirth. And for those who are more inclined to mountain-climbing, they have only to walk about a half mile and begin the long, steady climb up to the summits of the Albanian mountains and they shall be rewarded with views that are indescribable. These great hills are covered with rich olive and fig trees and in the spring are complete blankets of irises. These dainty little flowers the natives bring down and plant before their villas, or in boxes for ornamentation. For the artist,

[1] [Errata: should be one can live, Cf. Errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 269 —Analyst.]

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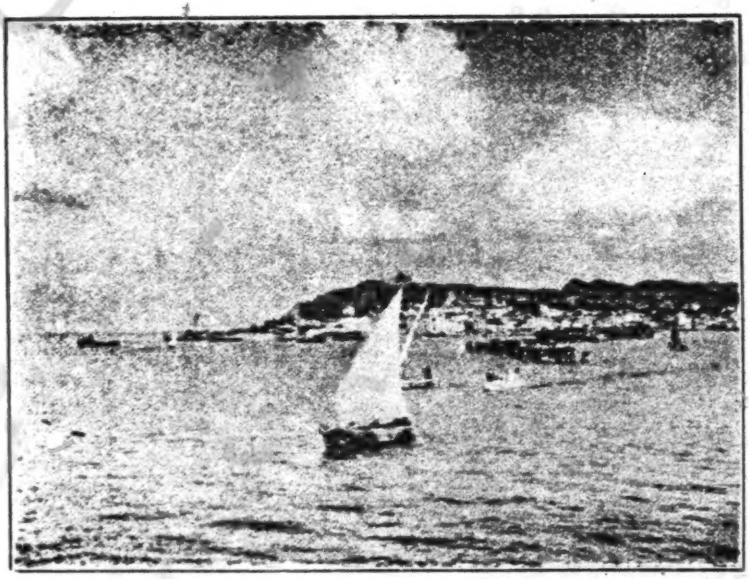

DURAZZO'S AQUATIC PLAYGROUND

(facing p. 152)

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DURAZZO BEACH

529 Albania is as a paradise the year around; a rich riot of color and landscape is his reward in whatever direction he may turn; and as character subjects, the Albanian people lend themselves as unique studies.

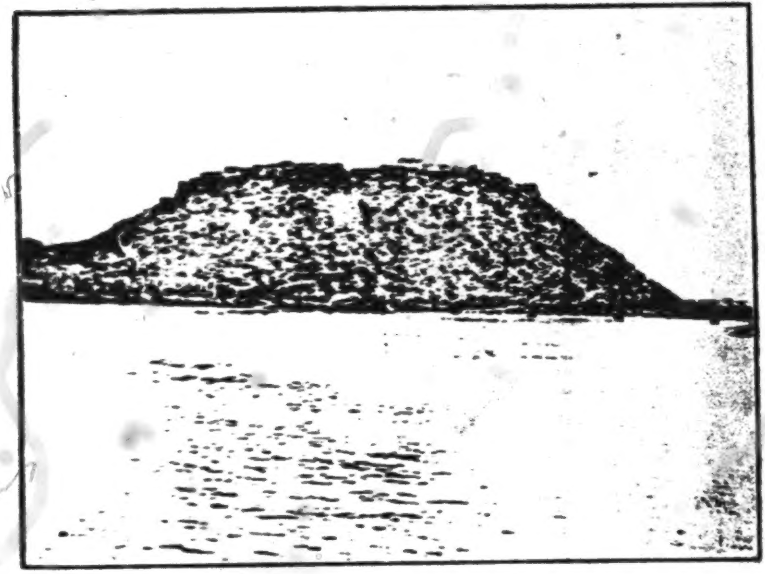
In no other country would it be possible to have the great advantages of the sea at your front door and the mountains for your backyard, which abound in promise of adventure and discovery. Life in the summer is lazy and informal. The vacationer lives as only he has dreamed it possible, and enjoys a thorough relaxation in healing air, with wonderful swimming, aqua planing, water sports and mountain climbing. And a last feature of this interesting vicinity, but a very important one, is that Durazzo Beach is entirely free from those demoralizing pests—mosquitos.

Scutari

103 OF all the cities in Albania there are very few that can lay claim to as much romance as can Scutari (Shkodra). In the past it has seen the foreign invaders swarm all around in the neighboring districts 7/2 only to be repulsed at the walls of the Rozafat Citadel which surrounds Scutari.

36 This ancient city in northern Albania is encircled by the lofty peaks of the north Albanian Alps and is situated on the southern extremity of the lake of Scutari at the conflux of the Bojana, Drin and Kiri rivers.

175 The Labeatans, a branch tribe of the Illyrians, resided in this district about two centuries before Christ, when for a time Scutari was the capital of Illyria. King Gentius ruled over this strongly fortified city until 168 before Christ, at which time the Romans occupied the city under Praetor Ancicius. It was left to the Emperor Diocletian to unite the city into the Roman Empire and he named Scutari as the capital of the province of Praevalis; in this capacity it remained until



THE FORTRESS OF SCUTARI

(facing p. 154)

SCUTARI

175 395 A.D., when this district passed from the East Roman Empire into the increasing power of Byzantium. From this period on into the Middle Ages, Scutari fought one invader after another in an effort to retain its integrity. First the Serbs were repulsed and then the Turks. In the early fifteenth century, the Venetians gained possession of Scutari and the surrounding territory, but it was not long until the Turks were again at the citadel of Scutari, and for ten long, dreary months, 1478-79, Scutari withstood the armies of Sultan Mohammed II, and finally was brought under Turkish rule but remained unconquered.

During the Balkan war, Scutari was the last city to withstand the Turks. Until January 29, 1912, Vali (Governor) Hassan Riza was able to hold and protect Scutari against the Serbs and Montenegrins, and afterwards Essad Pasha Toptani took over the command with his avaricious and ambitious schemes for personal glorification. The attacks of the Montenegrins and Serbs continued until April 22, 1913.

195 A Roman Catholic Archbishopric is established in Scutari.

366 This city with its romantic and war-like past, still retains its old bazaar established years and years ago, for Scutari is the chief market town of this region. Here the natives throng on market day in all their vivid array of costumes and make a picture that no one can easily forget. Scutari to-day, with its old Rozafat still standing, is the source of much of the folklore and tradition of the northern districts of Albania and also is the gateway to the neighboring mountainous villages which have retained their old and honorable customs and where the stranger is always welcomed with an age-old hospitality.

346 Other sights not to be missed in Scutari are the Jesuit Museum, Convent of the Franciscans, the Catholic Cathedral and the mosques, all of which hold some interest for everyone.

Near Scutari, in the mountains of Shala, there is an abundance of game to be had just for the sport—deer, fox, wildcats and fishing which will test any man's skill.

Valona

THIS colorful city of Valona—the ancient 103 Aulon—(Vlona in Albanian language) presents the charm and beauty of past ages and in addition can boast of rapid, modern progress. The fascinating old ruins of Moslem architecture are perfect representatives of the skill employed in by-gone years, combined with the beauties of the natural scenery of sea and mountains, make an unbeatable vacation land.

Geographically, Valona lies across the 361 Adriatic Sea from Brindisi and is one of the cleanest, friendliest and sympathetic cities that a tourist may find anywhere. One of its startling features to a stranger is the countless number of storks that fly around the city and make their homes on the roof-tops. Strange to relate, in this connection, Valona is not the most populous city in Albania!

The fashionable place for promenade in 367 this lovely town is the modern city park laid out to occupy a city block and consists of an enchanting variety of trees and flowers. An- 000

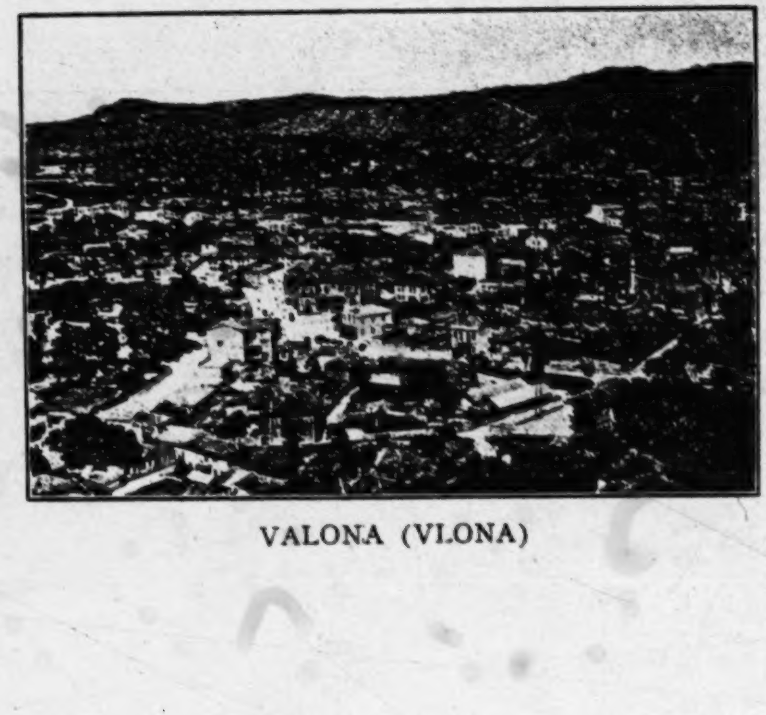
346 An-other place, among the numerous, to be visited with interest and close attention is the Neshad-Pasha Mosque which is a gem among its kind.

366 Here also is an exceedingly active branch of the Albanian National Bank.

529 From the center of the city, it is but a few kilometers' run to the seashore. In the cool of the day it is a delightful ride and after even a short swim in the clear waters one readily promises oneself to return to this lovely spot. For this strip of country from Valona to Himara is the Albanian Riviera and in no way can the rivieras of France and Italy surpass it. The climate is as agreeable, the natural beauties are far more picturesque, but the most inviting quality of this pleasant resort is that if privacy is desired it can be obtained and if, on the other hand, the gayety of a crowd is preferred, one has only to step from the front door and be buoyed along in a pleasant excitement.

315 A great deal of the wealth of Valona is derived from the rich petroleum fields that are situated near the city.

000 Another product important to Valona is



VALONA (VLONA)

(facing p. 158)

VALONA

317 Another product important to Valona is salt which is taken from the lagoons of the village of Arta, lying near Valona.

7/12 An excursion not to be missed is from Valona to Kanina. The road, going to the southwards, leads through luxuriant olive groves, fruity vineyards and waving fields of towering maize. About 400 meters above the town of Kanina stands the mighty Kanina Fortress, a relic of Byzantium. For its age, this veteran of so many attacks stands with comparatively few marks of the ravages of time and war. In the center of the village of 346 Kanina, directly under this fortress, is a Con- 764 vent of the Dervishes. Immediately in front of this building, a great tree proudly waves its branches far overhead, for this tree is the guardian of the last resting place of Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora, the father of modern Albania.

Valona has further interest historically for it was here that Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora proclaimed Albania's independence on November 28, 1912.

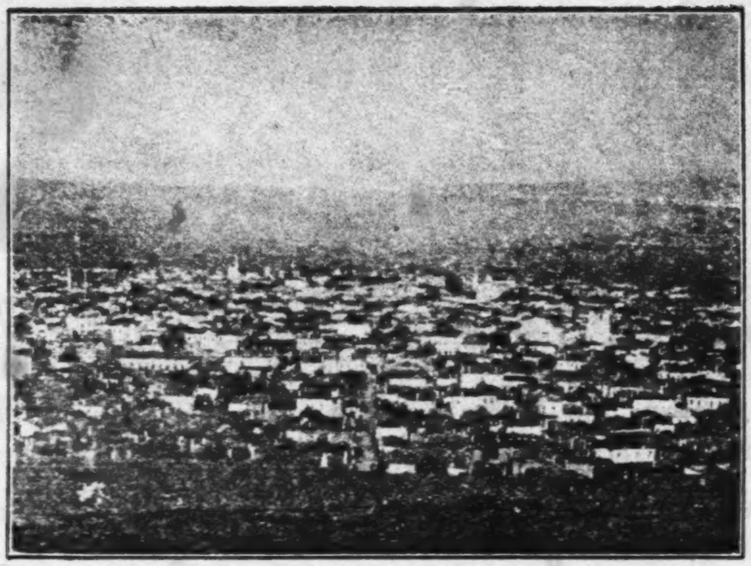
Korcha

361 438 KORÇA (sometimes referred to as Korcha and also as Koritsa) is the central terminus for Albania. It lies in one of the most fertile plains of Central Albania which is under intense cultivation. This causes Korça to be rich industrially for here are located three tobacco factories, a large sawmill and an alcohol factory. Near Korça are rich coal mines, vineyards, and so forth.

Several of the principal roads connecting Albania with Yugoslavia on the north and with Greece on the south and east meet here. To this valued and fortunate location Korça owes her importance and her development into an exceedingly up-to-date center for trade and traffic which enables her to transport materials of all kinds to and from all parts of the country.

The King Pyrrhus, of historic renown, was born in this district in which the city of Korça now stands.

342 Each home in Korça is surrounded by a garden enclosed with a wall made of light-colored stones, giving the residences an appearance of wealth.



A PANORAMA OF KORCHA

(facing p. 160)

KORÇA

000 colored stones, giving the residences an appearance of wealth.

795 Korça is now[1] the residence of the head of the Albanian Orthodox Church.

769 The local hero of Korça is one Themistokli Gërmeni.

167 About 70% of the Albanian immigrants to other countries come from Korça.

361 Korça is two and a half hours by automobile from Florina, Greece, where the railroad comes from Salonica northward. Thus making Korça the point nearest to railway connection.

[1] [Errata should be was until recently (Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

Berat

361 THOSE who have seen Berat have been
justly profuse in praising it. With its
stately old Cathedral and many inter-
[346] esting and unique churches and mosques, and
above all its splendid castles, gems of archi-
[712] tecture, it is worthy of its high reputation and
the admiration of all peoples. The ruins of
the fortresses and once handsome loggias only
enhance the beauty of this city.

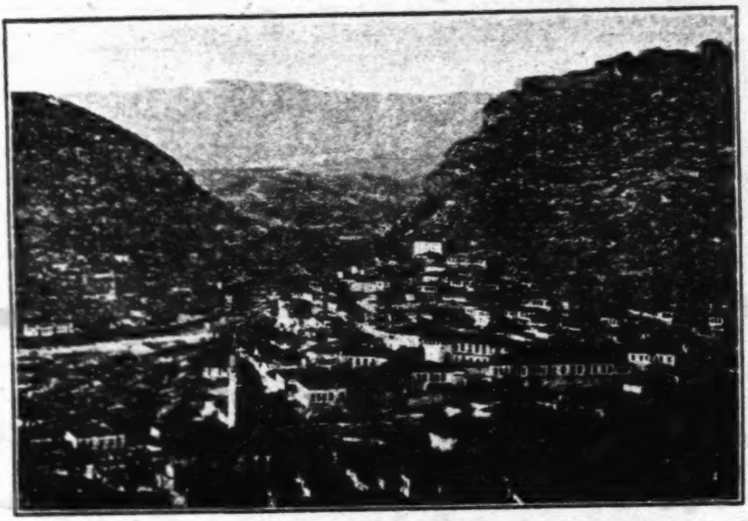
The town itself lies on an unsurpassingly picturesque defile of the Osum River, and resembles the exquisite pictures by the old masters of quaint cathedral cities.

In this city stand many palaces of those old noble families, as the Vloras' and the Vrionis', who centuries ago held the power of princes in their own districts.

Here to-day all is fraternal harmony with Moslem and Christian living side by side.

245 The principal means of livelihood of the inhabitants of Berat is the olive trade, which is supported by all the vicinity as the chief crop.

361



BERAT AND THE BERAT FORTRESS

(facing p. 162)

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BERAT

286 Also many of the loveliest tapestries of Albania come from Berat and the bright and skillful work of the patterns testify to the natural beauties that surrounds their makers.

p. 163

Alessio

361 ANOTHER city wealthy with memories
of the past is Alessio (Lesh), the an-
cient Lissos, situated southward from
Scutari on the left bank of the Drin River.
This city still lives in the shadows of its
ancient glory; the great ruins of her ancient
[348] Acropolis and the strong, old Citadel sur-
[346] round the present-day St. Nicholas Church
which is built on the same spot where the St.
Nicholas Cathedral stood, which was Scan-
[778] derbeg's burial place in 1468. Sometime after
Scanderbeg had been laid to rest here, the
Turks, entering Alessio, made his tomb a
place of veneration.

It was to this town that the chieftains of central Albania invited Scanderbeg to come when they offered him their allegiance. This great warrior had many faithful followers among the families of Alessio, and upon one of his visits, twenty-five years after he first went to Alessio to become their ruler, Scanderbeg died here.

Alessio (Lesh in the Albanian language)

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A GLIMPSE OF ALESSIO (LESH)

(facing p. 164)

ALESSIO

361 Alessio (Lesh in the Albanian language) is easily accessible from all points of the compass. One of the newer roads terminates at San Giovanni di Medua, Shën Gjin in Albanian, which is a small port in the northern part of Albania.

This village, with a population of 3,000, is rapidly becoming a thriving town although it is more dominated over by Scutari. Here has 1491 been built a new bridge, one of the government projects, across the Drin River, however, the ancient bridge has not been demolished.

000 From a historic standpoint this charming town has enough to occupy an archaeologist for some time, not to mention the lovely setting of which Alessio is justly proud.

Kruja

36/ KRUJA is one of the oldest towns of Albania. It is situated in a highly strategic position 1,500 feet up the mountain side and the great, well preserved [712] ruins of the Scanderbeg fortress loom like a sentinel over the town. On account of its fortified walls, many of the houses, some dating from the early fifteenth century, have escaped from the ravages of the invaders. And thus one finds all types of interesting architecture scattered throughout the city which bear mute witness to the influence of those who for so short a time tried to gain a foothold in this unconquerable country.

To one whose eye is ever eager for the adventurous and romantic setting, they need travel no further. Approaching Kruja from the south, the beholder feels as if he had taken a centuries-long step backward. The whole aspect is mediaeval. The town clings to the mountain side and every corner turned makes one tingle with anticipation for the unexpected. This lovely gem of an old world town

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(facing p 166)

KRUJA

THE ROAD TO MATI

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KRUJA

36/ with cobble stone streets creeping between rows of houses, its beautiful old mosque—all guarded over by the proud monarch on the hilltop which saw Scanderbeg the Great and his faithful followers drive the Turks from the country.

From the top of the tower it is possible to get a magnificent view of the country for miles around. On clear days Durazzo and the heavenly blue of the Adriatic make a picture that comes straight from fairyland.

Pogradec

361 THROUGH many narrow, shady and cool dales and over steep, majestic slopes, first along the Shkumbi River and then, after much winding and twisting, along the Langajaka River, we reach the town of Pogradec on the emerald shores of the charming Ochrida Lake, one of the prettiest in this more southernly district.

Pogradec is much visited by all who know of its fresh and invigorating climate in the summer; the Albanians themselves consider
529 it one of the best and most healthy of summer resorts.

It is a small, clean, prosperous town encircled by some of the most beautiful mountainous scenery in Albania. The town is also noted for its friendly and hospitable appearance which adds much to the natural charm of its surroundings. It is essentially a city for relaxation with its marvelous fishing, and also because here there is wine and tobacco aplenty.

000

POGRADEC

(facing p. 168)

Butrinto

103 THE city of delight for the archaeologist is Butrinto—or the old Buthrotum, a classical city of the ancient world. In the third book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, it is written that Aeneas, after the sack of Troy and during his long travels of adventure, finds Andromache, the widow of Hector, in the fortress of Buthrotum. The next mention of this city is found in Julius Caesar's "De bello civili" which deals with the civil war against Pompeius. The final mentions of this city in classical literature are in Racine's "Andromaque" and in the tragedy "Buthrote, ville d'Epire."

172 The Italian archaeologist, Dr. Luigi M. Ugolini, worked in Albania, first at Fenike then at Butrinto. Among the most perfect of his excavations is an ancient Greco-Roman Theater formed in an amphitheatre with many of the sculptured columns still standing. Other discoveries are from the Roman colonization. In addition, these excavations have brought to light many magnificent pieces of sculpture, among which are a head of a

172 bearded man with extremely life-like eyes, a maiden with a headband set over natural-looking curly hair, and a statue of a warrior with the inscription Sosicles.

One of the most valuable finds in this collection is a marble head designated as the "Goddess of Butrinto" or "Venus of Butrinto," which King Zog I presented to the Prime Minister of Italy, Benito Mussolini, in 1929. This excellent work has been wrought with great character and a masterly technique with the materials of the time, so much so that it is believed to be from the hand of Praexiteles or one of his co-workers.

The excavation work is being successfully continued.

Of course, the position of Butrinto explains, to a great extent, the finding of these museum pieces, for this city lies in the extreme south of Albania on the coast opposite the island of Corfu.

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RUINS OF THE BYZANTINE BAPTISTRY IN POJANI

346

ONE OF ELBASAN'S MOSQUES

(facing p. 170)

Other Towns of Interest

361 TO anyone familiar with Albanian history the name of Tepelene is well known. For this town, in southern Albania, is the birthplace of Ali Pasha Tepelene, born in 1741. [712] The castle of this leader still stands although part of it has sunk into ruins. During the days of Napoleon one of the country's greatest fortresses stood near this town.

Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra) is a progressive city where many of the old families of this region live in comfortable homes. Being [366] the largest city in the district it is a market place of note. The famous Ali Pasha Tepelene resided here for some time and his castle still remains. For the art devotee, the interiors of the churches, convents and mosques of Argyrokastro will give unfailing delight.

The city of mosques in Albania is Leskovik. [316] Here are many of the most beautiful specimen of mosque architecture to be found in [316] the country. There is also a large bazaar in Leskovik that will interest even the most seasoned traveller.

361 seasoned traveller. The climate in this small town is delightful due to its position at 930 feet above sea level.

Kavaja, an agricultural center, is also the seat of many excellent schools. Tobacco is the [249] main crop in this vicinity and the tobacco leaves are marketed at Kavaja. There are also large fruit groves intercepted by vegetable gardens.

[346] Fier, a rich and prosperous town, is the market place of cereals. As these crops are among the largest in Albania, the wealth of the town is understood. As Fier is only forty minutes from Pojani, the majority of the valuable excavations from Apollonia soon [543] found their way into the artistic museum of Fier. This collection from Apollonia in Pojani is as rich as that from Butrinto.

Lushnja is important in Albanian history as the city wherein that memorable congress convened which confirmed Albania's independence in 1920.

504 Santa Quaranta (Saranda), a port of 361 southern Albania, lies in that strip of coastline which, by reason of its beauty of scenery and vegetation, merits the name of Riviera of Albania. It is the third port of Albania with

a good harbor and here connections may be 361
made with Janina and Florina, Greece, by 304
steamer. This service is very regular and frequent. Also, Butrinto is only two hours distance from this port.

Almost lost among vast gardens, vineyards, orange and olive groves lies Delvina, on the road to Korça. This lovely little town is like a miniature paradise, so pervaded is it by the rich perfumes of flowers and fruit and many ladies have wished that its essence were in bottle form!

Have you ever looked at a miniature water color where the vari-colored roofs visible above tree-tops on a high hill and at the base a river gurgles along and wondered if such a place ever existed? It does. The picturesque little town on the hill is Përmet and the laughing river that goes tumbling along is the Viosa. It has to be seen to be believed.

Of all the towns there is surely not one that has such a tragic past, one so full of willing sacrifices, as has Voskopoj. In 1753 it was one of the largest cities in Albania and now it is a tiny village of about 400 inhabitants. In 1753 this city was a center of culture, of intellectual achievement, with 60,000

361 inhabitants. A few years later, in 1769, robbers annihilated the city, but was later rebuilt. During the world war, in 1914, the Greek forces attacked the city, and in order to drive the enemy from this district Salih Butka, leader of the Albanian troops of this vicinity, evacuated the city and had it burned to the ground. This was a supreme sacrifice of the people, but the plan succeeded and the Greeks left the district.

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THE TOWN OF PERMET

(facing p.174)

Albanian Women

562 THE Albanian women are an intriguing combination of charm and grace with the addition of more serious virile qualities; the results of this association make them delightful and quite unique. They have rapidly risen from any form of servitude which they may have endured in the long past and now walk hand in hand with the men of their country.

142 In appearance she is tall and slender and of the brunette type, with large, black eyes smouldering between long, curling, black lashes—the warm, emotional type. Her carriage is pleasing, moving as she does with a suppleness that denotes the women who are accustomed to living in the open air and not spoiled by those instruments of torture which, for the sake of coquetry, support the elegant Parisian woman. It is perhaps easier to imagine Diana the Huntress and her retinue under the natural aspects of the Albanian woman.

155 The marshes, the great forests or the mighty mountains do not frighten her at all.

(facing p. 176)

A CHARITY BALL IN TIRANA
Right to left: Princess Ruhie, Senie, Adile, Muzejen and Maxhide

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155 They will go into these places without fear. They will, under any conditions, willingly take the place of their husbands or brothers should the necessity arise, for the national sentiment, so dominant in the Albanian race, inspires the woman as well as the man. In the history of Albania there are numerous examples of the heroism of women as well as men which recall the admirable anecdotes of Spartan history.

The Albanian women acquire the right of coquetry, but they have the art as surely as their Parisian sisters. This is readily realized when they are seen arrayed in their beautiful gold-embroidered dresses with their magnificent tresses becomingly adjusted under their head-dress.

562 As a rule the women of Albania are generally domesticated. They derive great pleasure from their homes and live out of it very little. It is in the home that she works and makes everything she needs—outside of her
289 household duties, she finds time to embroider, to spin and much of the lovely silk handwork that one finds in Tirana, Elbasan and other Albanian cities, which is so skillfully done in lovely, harmonizing colors on the finest of

562 tissues, is made by the women who are so
[86] occupied with other duties! The Albanian wife in the cities is also acquainted with domestic industry—she knows not laziness. Many of them, being good housewives, try to flatter the tastes of their husbands. Culinary arts are by no means alien to her: her cakes and tarts may easily cause the best patissiers of Paris to cast an envious eye into her kitchen. She is her husband's companion, his daily associate, and he keeps the lady of his hearth informed of all his affairs and often asks her advice and seeks her suggestions.

Womanhood is universally respected in Albania. They are held in the highest regard in all places to the extent that she may go any place unmolested and even in a man's company he is the one who derives protection through her.

[128] Negotiations for a truce of peace have formerly been intrusted many times to women, for they were allowed protection and safety in an enemy's camp where a man would never have survived.

166 Even in Albanian history women have played many important roles; as above-mentioned she has been endowed with strong

156 nationalistic tendencies. One of the most extreme women who possessed these qualities was that renowned national heroine, Queen Teuta of Illyria.

156 The same proud and patriotic attitude
157 exists throughout Albanian history in her women. They have been known to make supreme sacrifices willingly for the cause of Albania's liberty and independence. When the Sultan's armies marched upon Scutari, it was the women who gave the alarm and urged their husbands and brothers into battle. When men fell mortally wounded the women filled the gaps and fought courageously. They carried the mutilated bodies of their loved ones and tenderly cared for them, while others urged the warriors on into the fray. It is also related that should a husband, son or brother turn their backs upon the enemy, they are refused entrance into their homes. Albanian women do not tolerate cowardice.

000 This selfsame indomitable will power and courageous spirit was portrayed in the mother of Ali Pasha Tepelene of Janina. It was to her that he owed the success of his early youth, paving the way for his illustrious career in later years. His mother, the noble

Khamko, changed him from a wild, rapacious 000 and almost incorrigible youth into an intelligent and judicious young man after the death of his father. Through her influential connections—she was related to many well known families of Albania—she exercised her strength of character which gave to Ali Pasha everything that he was to have.

A modern magnificent example of Albanian 644 womanhood was the mother of the present ruler. At the death of her husband, Sadié, daughter of Emin Bey Toptani, a member of one of the most illustrious and ruling families of Central Albania, was left with her ten-year-old son, now King of the Albanians, and six daughters. Without counting the costs and led on by her courageous spirit, she assumed the leadership of the people of her adopted district of Mati and through her keen sense of judgment, resourcefulness and integrity and her instinctive knowledge of statescraft, she ably ruled the district while her son was away in school. She well merits the extravagant praise that she receives for she was no ordinary woman. Queen Mother Sadié displayed the highest qualities of character and purpose that were no less noble than those

644 of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great.

The late Queen Mother aided her people to an unlimited extent, without rest or pause. She showed marvelous ability of leadership in the darkest days of Albania. She earned the everlasting gratitude of the people. And today her resting place is one of veneration and pilgrimage.

After King Zog ascended the throne, the Queen Mother and her six daughters devoted themselves to helping their fellowmen. Of these six daughters, one is a widow, two others are married and the three remaining are single.

644 Before her death, the Queen Mother gave
741 large donations and devoted her time towards
575 the organization of women movements, charitable institutions, orphanages, hospitals and similar activities for the welfare of the Albanian people at large. It was this beloved Queen Mother and her daughter, Princess Senié, who were directly responsible for the creation and organization on a modern basis of the Albanian Red Cross. Also through the work of the Queen Mother and Princess Senié, the Albanian National Women's Society, the

"Gruja Shqipëtare," came into existence in 575
1929, as the first woman's organization in 644
Albania. This Society has branches through- 741
out the country, not only with the object to educate the women and children and further the interests of womanhood, but also to donate clothing, food and warmth to the needy. The Queen Mother also encouraged the organization of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

The Princesses Muzejen, Madjidé and Ruhijé are directly responsible and can justly be proud of the work they have done and are doing for the furtherance of the arts, music, sports and allied subjects. These three sisters of King Zog are active participants and patronesses of the National Union of Albanian Youth.

Princess Madjidé (Maxhidé), who takes a keen interest in sports, does much to further the interests and welfare of the Albanian youth. She has aptly been chosen as the patroness of the Royal Albanian Touring and Automobile Club.

The proper upbringing and education of 644
their children occupies most of the time of the Princesses Adilé and Nafié, but they never

644 fail to contribute their assistance to whatever is being done for Albanian womanhood and youth.

Therefore, there is little wonder that the six sisters of King Zog are so well-beloved by all Albanians.

562 The moral code of the Albanians is sharply drawn in respect to their women. It is considered a very grave breach of etiquette to make them the object of jokes or stories. Any unfaithfulness on the part of Albanian women is very, very rare. However, under certain specified reasons, as provided by law, divorces are possible both in the Moslem and Christian religions.

814
562 The intellectual occupations also attract the attention of Albanian women. It is thus that Albanian erudition is honored with the presence of a woman, Dora d'Istra, who has written numerous volumes that are authorities, such as "La Suisse allemande et l'Ascension du Moenich," "La Vie monastique dans l'Eglise Orientale," "Les Femmes en Orient," etc. This capable writer is an ardent feminist, in the sensible use of the word and she has done much in directing the Albanian women to intellectual freedom.

291

A LADY OF SCUTARI IN NATIVE DRESS

(facing p. 182)

ALBANIAN WOMEN

291 The native dress for women in Albania is
as interesting as it is varied and picturesque.
The dress of the Albanian ladies is rich and
costly. The ladies of rank dress extravagantly
with very full trousers of some bright silk—
generally red—and are drawn tight at the
ankles where they are further ornamented
with a deep flounce of rich, handmade lace.
Over this is worn the sleeveless vest and coat
reaching to the knees, both, probably, of
crimson velvet, gorgeously trimmed with gold
lace and embroidered around the hem. The
302 Albanian lady of the higher class generally
divides her hair into three strands, two of
which are plaited around a red fez and the
other allowed to hang free. From this fez
301 hangs a long, dark blue tassel which is full
and decorated with small discs of pure gold
or seed pearls.

291 The women of the Mirdite district wear a coat of thick, white woolen material, red trousers like those just mentioned, and a richly embroidered apron with fringe a half yard in length, but her headdress is simply a dark blue kerchief.

The poor peasant women dress in coarse

homespun which is similar to that worn by other peasants in the Balkan peninsula.

Of course, the dress of Albanian ladies may vary somewhat as to detail in certain districts, but generally the essential parts are the same.

Public Instruction

WE often read in books appearing from the pen of persons who never have been in Albania nor taken the trouble to study the question, that the Albanians are illiterate and have no schools, but we can easily prove the exact opposite to be the truth. 871

Among Albanian statesmen, officials and individuals, we find graduates from the Universities of Brown (Providence), Cambridge, Constantinople (Robert's College), Harvard, London, Oxford, Paris, Vienna, and other celebrated centers of learning.

National law in Albania makes education compulsory through the elementary schools, thereby putting knowledge within the reach of every child.

Education in Albania has been nationalized by law passed in Parliament and sanctioned by the King of the Albanians and all institutions of learning are placed under the control of the Minister of Public Instructions. By the same law all private schools have been

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871 abolished and were replaced by schools created by the government.

The law suppressing the private schools had become a necessity. Of course these private schools filled a beneficial purpose, for prior to 1920 the system of education was in a chaotic state. Foreign societies and organizations, interested politically or religiously, came into the country and established private schools. These served a need there is no question, but, in a country with three different religions like in Albania, the aims of such private schools did not coincide with any national views although they were open to all Albanian people equally. At first, these schools were only primary, but gradually they broadened into secondary grades. It is obvious that such schools, operated by independent capital and interests, would be hard to control—impossible to make any definite system of education. Finally, by the above-mentioned law passed unanimously by the Albanian Parliament, the education and instruction of all Albanian people became the exclusive right of the State. Primary instruction became compulsory and given gratuitously. This law became effective in the fall of 1933.

Thus, out of chaos, order has been established.

Thus, out of chaos, order has been established. 000

There have been created nine normal 873 schools, a combination of the State and private 874 normal schools. Also, five professional schools were founded.

The normal school for girls at Korça and the private institute for girls, "Naim Frasheri," were suppressed. The institute for girls, "Kyrias," was transferred as a branch of the Gymnasium at Tirana. The normal school operated by the Stigmatines Sisters was transferred as a branch of the Gymnasium of Scutari.

In the place of these abolished institutions, a large educational center for girls, "Nana Mbretneshë," was founded at Tirana, and is one of the most excellent institutions of learning in Albania. The late Queen Mother organized this school into normal and secondary sections. The complete course lasts eight years.

At Korça, a girl's school was created for the former students of the "Naim Frashëri" school, the course of which lasts four years.

The pupils of the private technical school 874
at Tirana were transferred to other normal

874 schools created by the State where the same courses are obtainable.

The professional schools of Berat, Argyrokastro, Korça and Scutari, the courses of which conflicted with State instruction, were closed. As a substitute, a type of school more helpful was created—"Shkollë Qytetse"—with a curriculum of four years responding to the needs of the localities in which it has branches: at Berat, Durazzo and Korça.

The technical school of Tirana is one of the best of its kind. The professors are specialists chosen for their abilities along technical lines. The section for agriculture, which existed in the old technical school, has been formed into an entirely new and separate school also at Tirana.

872 Since the State has taken over the educational system, public instruction has made great progress in all Albanian districts, new schools have sprung up in all districts throughout the nation. Since 1933 sixty more schools have opened their doors. This brings the total of public schools to the fifth grade to 577 and it is contemplated to improve these schools to provide eight years of study. There are now more than 41,000 students instructed by 1,100 teachers in these primary schools.

by 1,100 teachers in these primary schools. 000

At the present time the number of advanced 873
schools stands at twenty, six of which are 874
gymnasiums and five are pedagogic institutions. Among these are to be found commercial, technical, agricultural and domestic science schools. In the latter school alone there are over 3,000 students in attendance. All of these advanced schools make the knowledge of two foreign languages compulsory.

Here the elementary school and gymnasium 873
of the Franciscan Fathers is worthy of spe- 872
cial mention, which is one of the oldest educational institutions in Albania.

Also the Gymnasium of the Jesuits, with which is maintained an affiliated Theological Seminary, is another of the well established and progressive institutions.

There are a large number of kindergartens scattered throughout the entire country.

All these schools, elementary, normal, ad- 871
vanced, are conducted in the Albanian language.

The years 1933 and 1934 proved to be years of great and beneficial reconstruction of the educational system in Albania on a permanent and broader basis.

871 Scholarships are paid by the Albanian Government. However, if the winners of these scholarships be of rich parentage, they pass the financial part of the scholarship to the next deserving and needy pupil.

For the past few years the king and the government have been encouraging and financially assisting Albanian students to take courses, as well as graduate work, in foreign colleges and universities. Thus, we find several hundred Albanian students in the colleges and universities of various countries every year. To-day there are Albanian students in American, Austrian, Canadian, English, Egyptian, French, German, Indian, Swiss and Turkish colleges and universities, and such students receive the necessary financial wherewithal from the king personally and/or from the Albanian Government.

874 For the past ten years there have been in Kavaja, Albania, farm schools for boys and girls, which were established by Dr. C. Telford Erickson, and were taken over in 1930 by the Near East Foundation. These two schools were moved to a new location on ground contributed by the Albanian Government on the coast of the Adriatic midway

between Kavaja and Durazzo, and were 874 housed in new buildings constructed by the Near East Foundation. The construction is [346] American,[1] but the architectural motive is taken from such examples of Albanian architecture as the ancient Scanderbeg Tower of Kruja. The result is that the major portion of the buildings harmonize well with the rural landscape of Albania. The two schools are called the "Albanian-American Institute." They are supported by the Albanian Government and the Near East Foundation. The Boys' School has a large farm and work on the farm is the basis for education in farming, training peasant boys in advanced farming and the art of good citizenship. Originally this school provided a four-year course, but with the approval of the Ministry of Public Instructions, the four years have been reduced to a three-year course. The Girls' School, formerly a normal institution where young women were trained for teaching in village schools, is now a Folk School and the curriculum includes: cooking and food preservation, household sanitation and baby care, weaving, pottery, mending and dress-making, poultry, bees, and gardening. The teaching in

[1] [Two farm schools taken over in 1930 by the Near East Foundation--Analyst]

874 both schools is done by trained Albanian teachers and under the direction of American specialists. An experimental village school is administered by the Girls' Schools staff in a nearby village. These two schools have been operating successfully and under the supervision of the Albanian Ministry of Public Instructions. The number of young men and women who have graduated from these schools have carried their acquired knowledge into practical usage and conclusively proved that the good training given them is bearing fruit.

575 883 One of the new movements of great advantage and assistance to the children of Albania is the National Union of Albanian Youth, organized by the late Queen Mother and the sisters of the king in 1928. To-day this is one of the strongest recognized organizations in the country. Among the main objects of this Union are the physical, moral and patriotic upbuilding of the Albanian youth, encouragement in the arts, music, etc., and a greater impetus to sports—baseball, football, gymnastics, rowing, skiing, swimming, tennis, et cetera. Thus, we realize the care given to

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

the sound upbuilding of the Albanian citizen of to-morrow. 575 883

Prior to the establishment of the National Union of Albanian Youth, King Zog I introduced and made obligatory the Boy-Scout system for boys between the ages of 12 and 18.

There is naturally great need for more schools, especially colleges, and the Albanian Government is continually improving on the existing educational system and new schools are opened as the budget and conditions permit. 871

It can be truthfully stated that the present educational system in Albania is of a high standard.

Public Health

743 THE care of the health of the general population has been undertaken in a particularly efficient and modern manner. The creation of the necessary institutions began immediately after the war.

Hospitals and clinics have been established and endowed in recent years by the king and the Albanian Government in Tirana and in all the principal cities of the country, all receiving government subsidies. All these hospitals are modern and have complete equipment with up-to-date instruments and necessities.

Hospitals of other nations have been most carefully studied and copied, and from time to time researches and studies are carried on under authorities in specific fields in special institutions in various countries for the modernization of these Albanian hospitals which are thereby kept absolutely up-to-date.

All health institutions in Albania have the necessary equipment for the special care of children.

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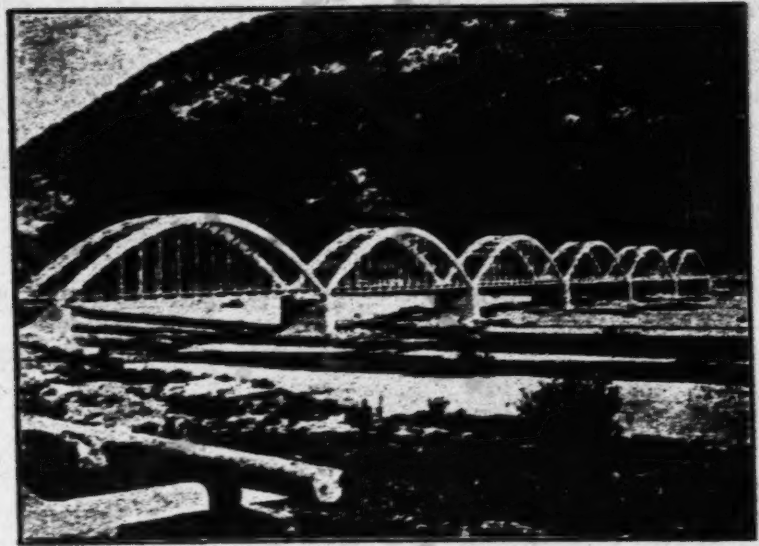
PUBLIC HEALTH

The hygienic education of the people has 744 met with great success.

A part of the health program of Albania is the improvement of sanitation in all the villages and towns.

The Albanian doctors are graduates of the 759 medical schools of various foreign universities, mostly of Vienna, Austria, and are rapidly becoming specialists in their fields.

In addition to the hospitals, there are, 743 naturally, clinics, dispensaries and other sanitary and hygienic institutions.



THE ZOGU BRIDGE OVER THE MATI RIVER AT MILOTI

(facing p. 196)

Roads

491 IN few other countries has there been such giant steps taken in furthering the development and welfare of a nation as has been the case in Albania since the inauguration of the present regime. No field has been overlooked: Agriculture, Banking, Education, Industry, Trade and all other forms of internal services including roads. It is of vital importance to the wealth of a nation to have adequate means of transportation, and, since 1925, the king and government has given much careful consideration to the development and improvement of roads and construction of bridges.

In the northern part of the country, a very important road from Scutari, through Pukë, to the Yugoslavian border has been commenced and will very soon be ready. This road is seventy-five miles in length and unites the main sections of the Scutari and Kosova districts. Another road of great national benefit is the so-called Dibra-Road, which has its beginning at the new Zogu Bridge, near

ROADS

491 Miloti, and makes its way to the Yugoslavian frontier, which is a distance of over eighty miles, connecting some of the most fertile regions of the interior with the port of Durazzo and with Tirana, thus making an outlet for the tremendous agricultural sections and forming new markets for commerce and trade.

Amongst some of the well constructed roads in Albania which lend much to the enjoyment of the country and enhances its commercial value are those from Kruja to Mati, a distance of about thirty-three miles, from Peshkopi sixty miles to Librazhd, which road connects with that running between Elbasan and Tirana, a distance of thirty-four miles. Another of these roads is the one from Lushnja leading to Fier twenty miles away, where a spur runs on to Valona.

Numerous roads throughout the country are rapidly nearing completion, and once finished will prove a decided advantage for further developments in every field of industry; the agricultural districts will be brought nearer their natural marketing centers, and will facilitate the traffic between individual markets.

The total mileage of the roads in Albania

491 that were completed by March 31, 1933, was approximately two thousand one hundred miles.

Due to the unusual and difficult formations of the country, especially in the mountainous regions where the flow of water is constant and therefore presents the necessity of numerous large and small bridges, a complication is arrived at which no other country has to cope with. In spite of the colossal interference, however, the number of permanent bridges has increased from three hundred sixty in 1921 to eight hundred in 1928. But the last six years have seen even greater strides and by March 31, 1933, Albania had two thousand six hundred and seventy-four permanently constructed bridges, and still work continues!

Albania has many roads leading to her neighbors on the three points of the compass, the following of which are the principal ones:

I. In a northeasterly direction from Scutari to the Albanian border near Hani i Hotit, and afterwards to Yugoslavia through to Podgorica, a distance of twenty-one miles.

II. Another eastern route having its source at Scutari leads from Cattaro (Yugoslavia) via Antivari and Dulcigno or by Cetinje, Ritjeka, Virbazar and then Antivari and Dulcigno to the Albanian-Yugoslavian frontier near Gorica, and afterwards via Obliki to Scutari.

III. Twelve miles southeast from Peshkopi, the road winds its way from Dibra (Dibër) to the Albanian-Yugoslavian border near Biladë, (Albania), and continues southwards from Biladë to Librazhd, a distance of sixty miles. At Librazhd, the road branches to the west towards Durazzo and Elbasan (Elbasan being about twenty-five miles from Librazhd); and the southern fork leads to Pogradec and Korça, the former town being about thirty-seven miles from Librazhd.

IV. Qafa e Thanës is a border line town between Albania and Yugoslavia and is used in the east of Albania for the road coming from Struga, Yugoslavia, which forks, going eastwards to Librazhd, and southwards to Pogradec and Korça. The distance from Qafa e Thanës to Pogradec is about twenty-seven miles, and from Pogradec to Korça is approximately forty-six miles.

V. From Korça a road extends southeast along the Albanian-Greek frontier. On another more round-about route, the traveller finds himself in three countries in a radius of little more than fifty miles, for this road begins at Monastir (Yugoslavia) and continues, via Florina (Greece), to Bilisht (Albania).

VI. The road from Janina (Greece) leads, via Ersek-Leskovik (Kolonja) in a northeastern direction to Korça by way of Perat. The distance between these cities being: Perat to

Leskovik thirteen miles; Leskovik to Erse approximately forty-seven miles, and fro Ersek to Korça about forty-one miles.

VII. Another road comes northeastward to Argy- rokastro (Gjinokastra), from Janina, to th Albanian frontier at Kakavi; about nine mile to the rear of Kakavi, at Yorgusati, the roa branches: One fork continues to Delvina an Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the former tow being twenty-four miles from Yorgusati; an the other on to Argyrokastro, a distance o seventeen miles from Yorgusati.

For those travellers desirous of visitin Albania by automobile, it will be found to b more advantageous to use the Gorica road i the northern part of the country and, entering from the east, the road northwards from Pogradec via Qafa-e-Thanë. In the south, the more desirable road is by way of Bilisht, als the roads from Perat to Korça and from Kakavi to Santa Quaranta (Saranda) and Argyrokastro; the road from Dibra (Dibër) to Librazhd having too many slopes.

By far one of the most beautiful and interesting of roads in Albania is the one opened on July 2, 1933, between Tirana and Elbasan, and is thirty-four miles in length. Since it is only an hour and fifteen minutes' journey it should be of great assistance in opening the central part of the country. Before this road 491 was constructed, the traveller had to go by way of Durazzo and spend some four hours on the journey. And only ten years ago, it was necessary to go on horse-back over the difficult pass of Krrab and spend a minimum of eleven hours on the trip. Thus the progress of Albania!

Taking this motor-route from Tirana, one first follows the interesting old caravan path that was made through the years. But soon the main road veers off because the path took the steeper climb upward.

This road has to cross many new bridges which are very compactly built and substantial, one of these being the long bridge over the Erzen into Petrela.

Upon leaving Petrela, one begins the long, steady pull upward to the summit of the pass of Krrab. However, the gradients are never very steep, but there are many long ascents. This mountain pass is really an achievement in road-making: The road twists and turns ever upward with strong embankments above and below. In the more dangerous parts of the road, powerful balustrades have been erected to insure the riders' safe passage. The

491 firm and solid foundation is very good, being metalled with the famous local stone which is said to have durability enough to serve as grindstones for flour mills.

At the summit of the pass, very heavy blasting was necessary and many thousands of dollars were spent for sufficient dynamite. The road runs along the spine of the ridge for some distance, affording much beautiful scenery. Upon leaving the summit, the road begins to unwind itself slowly down to the great plains of Elbasan, and the traveller feels he has had a magnificent view of a picturesque and romantic country in complete safety.

Thus we see Albania with connecting arteries throughout the nation which allows easy passage from Yugoslavia to Greece and vice-versa and facilitates passage with the whole of Europe. The economic importance of these routes have already been mentioned, for economically a country depends upon good communication and this is why the construction of roads and bridges properly heads the list of public works.

Nothing could be of more pleasure and interest than travelling in Albania to-day with

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COSTUMES OF SCUTARI

(facing p. 202)

ROADS

491 its well-constructed and durable roads which cross at all parts of the country. For those
494 who have not the leisure to travel slowly in their own automobiles or one of those which may be easily hired with careful and skilled chauffeurs, and yet who wish to travel independent of the time-tables of the official service, there are motor-coaches available which make excellent connections with each other in
481 any town. Albania may be reached by good roads from Greece and Yugoslavia; by sea on Italian, Greek or Yugoslavian lines and by air from any metropolis in a few short hours.

Aerial Service

TO-DAY, with man in the air as often as the bird, there is no inconvenience caused by the more southeasternly location of Albania; it has access by air, road and sea. There are flights to Albania running on regular schedule and are most comfortable and efficient, none lasting more than a few short hours. The Ala Littoria has control of the Albanian air lines which affords regular passenger and mail service between Tirana, Korça, Scutari and Valona in a very short while, thus affording a bird's eye view of this picturesque country of beauty and tradition. The trip from Tirana to Scutari (Shkodra) and back is made three times weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. The Tirana-Korça-Tirana service is effectual on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday of every week, also from Tirana-Vlona-Tirana and return is made on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. The service from Tirana to Kukësi and return is made on the same day and on second days of the week.

AERIAL SERVICE

The connections abroad are through Bari, Italy, on the west and Salonica on the east.

The schedule between Rome and Tirana and vice-versa runs regularly three times every week and lasts only about three hours. The time seems as naught, for the beautiful mountainous landscape below and the shimmering Adriatic will fascinate the most sophisticated eye.

The schedule between Tirana-Salonica-Athens and vice-versa runs also three times a week.

There are also convenient aeroplane connections between Vienna (Austria) and Tirana (Albania).

A recent addition to the air connections abroad is the run between Trieste and Durazzo (Durrës) and vice-versa twice weekly.

It is worthy of mention that since these communications were introduced in Albania, in 1925, there has not been one single accident, which is a record to boast of for eleven years, for there are very few countries, if any, that have an achievement such as this of which to be consciously proud.

Postal and Telegraph Service

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IF historical tradition is to be believed, then it can scarcely be said that any country has prospered under the temporary domination of a foreign power. Intentions may be for the benefit of the invaded country or of a more nefarious character, but seldom has such an occupation of a country ended with bettered conditions. Such was the result of the Turkish domination of Albania. This nation's postal and telegraphic service was left in such a miserable condition that it could not satisfy even the most primitive needs. The regular telephone system did not exist, and there was practically nothing that could be called a regular postal organization, for all that remained were ten poor post offices that were too disorganized to be of any assistance to the country.

Within the last decade the Albanian postal and telegraph system has been developed to a surprising efficiency. There are over fifty-seven of such offices with one general post office in Tirana and nine district offices scattered throughout the country in the larger and more important towns.

tered throughout the country in the larger 206 and more important towns.

The telegraph system is more highly developed than the telephone system. The former service has at its disposal a net of about two thousand miles of wire for the inland service —this is almost the same in proportion to its size as any other European country. This same organization also has three submarine cables for foreign service, namely: Durazzo-Brindisi, Valona-Otranto and Valona-Brindisi; and to Yugoslavia on the north are two more long-distance connections: One via Cetinje and one via Dibra (Dibër). The other country directly connected with Albania through this system is Greece which is reached by one line via Salonica and another via Janina.

In further cooperation with the telegraph system is the three kilowatt wireless station of Tirana, which is in regular connection with Brindisi, Vienna and Zagreb.

The telephone service is rapidly being more fully developed. The local lines are in excellent condition in the larger towns and many of these are connected with each other. Much

206 is being done to further the advancement of this necessity to the business men.

[205] Since her rapid strides in development have begun, Albania, since 1922, is a member of the Union Postal Universelle, of the Union Télégraphique Universelle, and later, in 1925, has become a member of the Union Radiolétélégraphique Universelle.

Industry

HAVING immense natural wealth and possessing an abundance of raw materials and considerable reserves of power, Albania is well placed for the development of industry and may therefore be considered a country of the future. Already one can observe great progress made since the world war.

Albania being essentially an agricultural [241] country, it is logical that agriculture and the food industries are so far most developed. The possibilities of future development are also great, there also being large surplus stocks of agricultural products not required for home consumption.

Another industry yet to be developed on a [313] larger scale is timber. Albania is exceptionally rich in forests. Many of the forests are still untouched as domestic needs are filled easily from so dense a growth. Taking into consideration the large number of fully grown forests suitable for felling, and the excellent 433 quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

000 quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably.

137 There are in Albania oak forests, coniferous trees, chestnut trees, beech trees, the latter being mingled with pine and firs. Juniper, maple and box grow on the higher slopes of the mountains. The elm, chestnut, walnut and plane trees are more prevalent on the plains.

313 There are steam sawmills near Valona and elsewhere which work continually.

433 Albania being so centrally located for the
Balkan States and with one of their main outlets to the Adriatic Sea, is an ideal place for
the establishment of factories, branch-factories and wholesale supply houses covering all
trades, from canneries to automobile manufactures to supply the needs for the Balkan
States and other nearby countries, this being
[441] especially desirable and ideal when we con-
[455] sider that there is ample labor to be had and
the wages are the lowest in Europe.

[435] Land and building materials are extremely low in price, making it possible for the men of moderate means to live luxuriously.

000 Taxation on new properties does not exist,

3: Redlich · S-3 (nodate) 1936 EG.: Albania EG

A BAZAAR IN ALBANIA

(facing p 210)

INDUSTRY

Taxation on new property does not exist

651 all new buildings being fully free of all taxation for a long number of years.

457 The Albanian Government is always ready to extend all facilities in its power to encourage foreign industries to establish business branches, factories and store houses for their products.

651 Customs duties are low, in some instances negligible or entirely eliminated.

000 When we consider the fact that a Ford automobile, costing in the United States about $500.00, with the customs duties and taxes sells in France for about $1,200.00, and that if the same automobile would be shipped directly to Albania, where the parts would be assimilated and sold from Albania, the automobile would be available to the European public for about $650.00 to $800.00, this clearly gives us a good example of low customs duties and taxation in Albania.

From Albania it is easily and most conveniently possible to supply the needs of Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and other countries.

Agriculture

000 UNTIL the last two decades Albania has had little time to devote herself to agricultural pursuits. She was too busy defending her land from the foreign invaders. The Turks had a saying: "To the Armenians, the pen, to the Albanians, the sword." This is not true any longer. With the people completely happy and content under the beneficial rule of King Zog I, they have turned their backs upon the sword or beaten it into the plough. They have settled down to developing their homeland.

654
243 The fertile plains and hillsides of Albania are devoted solely to farming, thus making the country almost essentially agricultural. Since the land is the main source of livelihood for the majority of the people, it is one of the chief aims of the government to care for the prosperity of the farmers. For this purpose the government has undertaken a project of model farms to demonstrate methods which may be of assistance and instruction to the natives. The best example of this is maize,

AGRICULTURE

Almost three-fourths of the cultivated soil of 654 Albania is devoted to raising maize of the 243 white and yellow variety, very much similar to the German maize grown in the vicinity of Baden. As there are such tremendously large quantities of this food material, the model farms are doing their best to accustom the farmer to the use of maize as feed for cattle to substitute it for grain for direct consumption. This is efficiently demonstrated by trial efforts to fatten different types of cattle and the experiment has met with success. The government is also conducting considerable propaganda work in various agricultural fields through these model farms. A considerable portion of this crop is exported.

The next in importance to maize is wheat, the growth of which has been bettered and greatly increased under governmental direction. This grain is grown largely in the south where the dry soil and intermittent rains are more suitable for its growth. The government imported several thousands of pounds of wheat of the Montana variety and distributed it to be used for sowing purposes; this has brought about excellent results. This importation was necessary because of the de-

654 243 sirability to improve the quality and the quantity of the domestic crop in order to be able to export wheat into the eastern neighboring country, Greece, and elsewhere.

243 Besides maize and wheat, there are numerous other grainfruits grown in rather equally large proportions. Rye is to be found in the mountainous regions of the east and northeast; oats and barley are grown in almost all sections of the country.

It is also to be noted with interest the rapid growth in the production of rice in Albania. This particular industry thrives in the districts of Elbasan and Berat. Here are many [312] rice plantations and improvements in the irrigation system which has been rather antiquated to a certain extent, and since such a great supply of water is necessary, there have been great strides made in bettering the method of agriculture which will, without doubt, greatly enhance the production of rice.

248 Hemp is also raised successfully.

Flax and cotton are also cultivated and the crops show a steady increase.

245 Following in importance to the stabilizing grainfruits, the growth of olives holds a position of note. Albania possesses about 1,500,-

AGRICULTURE

000 trees which are scattered over an area of 245
about 5,000 acres; to increase the supply,
about 40,000 young olive trees have been
planted in the last few years. The more
favorable localities are in Elbasan and Durazzo,
although there has been great success in
raising trees at Alessio (Lesh), Kavaja and
Delvina (Delvinë). However, the fruit alone
was exported in former years and the fine oil 258
had to be imported, but since 1930, two large
oil refineries have been erected in Elbasan,
and others elsewhere later on, and it is interesting
to relate that, for the first time in 1931,
about 110,000 pounds of refined oil could be
exported.

Almost throughout the entire country, vast 249
tobacco fields are to be found, which represent
another great source of potential wealth for
Albania. The more important fields are in
the neighborhoods of Berat, Durazzo, Elbasan,
Kavaja, Tepelena and Tirana where an
excellent tobacco is grown in great quantities.
The tobacco crop of 1932 amounted to about
3,500,000 pounds, and has been vastly increased
year by year since. In order to draw
every possible benefit for this branch of production,
a far-reaching program has been

1 [Errata: should be Tepelenë, Scutari and Tirana. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, col. 116 -- Analyst]

249 started which will, in all probability, help not only to increase the production of tobacco, but also to improve the quality and preparation of the leaf, so that it will find a better and more ready market the world over. This program has already been set in motion and it is believed that it will be of considerable importance toward increasing national wealth.

245 In the fertile orchards and gardens of Albania there is hardly any kind of fruit missing; the cultivation of these is carried on on a vast scale, and offers a more prosperous future. There are figs, lemons, oranges, cherries, apples, pears, pomegranates, pistachios, mulberries, apricots, peaches, melons, tomatoes, almonds and nuts grown in a large number of sections of Albania and an ample quantity exists for export. [654] Within the last three years, the government has distributed about 200,000 fruit trees, gratis, to the fruit growers with the view of increasing production.

The Citrus fruit is preeminently Albanian and more than 300,000 pieces are exported annually.

249 The sumac, used by dyers, is the principal cultivation of the Mirdites and in the district of Scutari and Durazzo. There is a certain amount of export trade in the wood and leaves.

000 amount of export trade in the wood and leaves.

244 The cultivation of vegetables has not been neglected, and in recent years special care has been taken to spread and increase the growth of all kinds of vegetables. The most favored districts for the growth of vegetables, especially peas, beans and all the other leguminous products, are around Durazzo, Elbasan and Korça. In the neighborhood of these towns the increase of vegetable cultivation is steadily progressing, and has become a rather important source of income for the suburban population.

248 The growing of cotton was started during war time; most of its cultivation was centered first in the valley of the Viosa River, and later spread into the districts of Tirana and Elbasan where it met with such success that it was later tried at Durazzo and elsewhere where it bore very good results. The government has zealously favored the cotton plantations and helping in numerous ways to increase production.

245 Among the almost all-embracing productions of Albania is to be added the grape. The wild vine grows on the calcereous mountains

245 to the north-east of Scutari and on the mountains of southern Albania. These vineyards are rather extensive. The best vineyards to be found are in the sections of Berat, Elbasan,
274 Korça, Scutari and Tirana. A wine, which in color and fire resembles that of the south of Spain, is produced on the slopes of Podrina, north of the Drin.

253 Due to the large supplies of game and stock-bred cattle in this rich country, meat is plentiful—meat of all varieties. Since the native market is more than cared for a considerable quantity is prepared for exportation.

Fisheries

THE fishery industry in Albania has 228
tremendous possibilities and is so far only partially developed. At the present time, canned fish is imported into Albania from foreign countries, which is without reason or actual necessity, for the whole of Albania's western boundary is the plentiful Adriatic Sea, not to mention the innumerable large lakes and rivers. If this tremendous, almost inexhaustible, possibility were to be sounded, there would be found a resource more than sufficient to supply the whole of Europe. This great promise for canneries is only one of the many for which the Adriatic Sea may be utilized.

In the large lakes of Scutari, Ochrida, 226
Malik and Presba there is a supply of fish which has remained abundant through the centuries. The method of catching these fish is still the primitive use of fences on the banks of the rivers and lakes. From these fisheries 22
the State claims 70%, the remaining 30% 443
being kept by the fisherman. If fish are caught

outside of these enclosures, the government claims only 20%. The percentage of fish which comes to the government is sold by auction to private enterprises.

The centers of these auction markets are as follows:

(1) Scutari: The lakes of Scutari, Murtepe, Kakarriqi and Lundra, with the rivers of Bojana and Drin;

(2) Leshnja: The Old-Drin river and the Adriatic coast from the mouth of the Bojana to that of the Mati;

(3) Durazzo: The mouth of the Mati, the lake of Durazzo, Shlliza, the mouth of the Erzen and the Adriatic coast from the mouth of the Mati to lake Karavasta;

(4) Lushnja: The lakes of Karavasta, Divjaku, Terbuffi, the river Shkumbi, and the Adriatic coast from Karavasta to the mouth of the Semeni;

(5) The Semeni and Devolli rivers;

(6) Valona: The lakes of Narta, Sverneci; the Shushica and Viosa rivers, and the coast of the Adriatic from the mouth of the Semeni to Himara;

(7) Saranda-Delvina: The lakes of Butrinto and Ristica; the Argyrocastro river and the

FISHERIES

coast of the Adriatic from Himara to the 443 frontier of Greece;

(8) The lakes of Pogradec, Ochrida and Prespa.

There are all kinds of fish to be found in 136 these waters, mainly: bass, trout, eel, carp, whitebait, red mullet, sole, sea-fish, etc.

The proceeds from these sales are generally 228 between 350,000 and 400,000 gold Francs annually, although there are some years when the amounts are remarkably higher.

There is no element of risk in this industry.

This industry promises to become an immense source of revenue when fully developed on a modern basis and for this purpose foreign capital is urgently needed and would be welcomed in Albania.

Minerals and Mining

316 MINING is rapidly becoming an important and profitable item in the economic life of Albania.

The soil of the country is extremely rich in ores of various kinds but unfortunately it has not been developed to the extent justified by the natural conditions and the riches of the sub-soil. Speaking generally, it has scarcely been developed beyond the phase of exploration and that of actual exploitation is just now actually beginning.

135 The Romans were aware of the deposits of asphalt near Valona, but in mediaeval times the continuous wars and later the Turkish domination did not favor the development of the mining industry.

Induced by the appalling scarcity of all raw materials during the world war and the numerous foreign occupations of Albania, a more intensive search for mineral products had been undertaken, and thus, the Italians found naphtha near Valona and lignite in the vicinity of Tepelene and elsewhere. The Aus-

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THERMAL BATHS AT LLIXHA, NEAR ELBASAN

(facing p.222)

MINERALS AND MINING

135 trians discovered lignite near Tirana and along the side road to Elbasan and also an abundance of copper near Pukë. The French unearthed lignite at Pogradec and copper in several places near Korça.

654 The Albanian Government, since 1925, has given greater and more systematic assistance to the mining industry and to the research and study of geological conditions and possibilities.

There were eighteen mining concessions granted between the years 1922 and 1928 and twenty-one more concessions given out in 1929, thus giving these industries a strong impetus.

There are numerous concessions for oil, copper, iron, lead, asbestos, talcum, plaster and marls of cement, lignite, asphalt, chrome, et cetera, still available to responsible companies and individuals.

315 Some of the large international mining
316 enterprises have begun a continually increasing activity in Albania—the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Standard Oil Company, the Franco-Albanian Syndicate, Azienda Italiana Petroli Albania (AIPA), Societa Italiana Miniere di Selenizza, and others.

316 A company has most successfully exploited the bitumen mines near Valona. The bitumen is found in solid form, both dull and shining, in liquid form and also as asphalt. The shining bitumen, called *romsi*, after the name of the village where it is principally found, is a remarkable product which does not exist in many countries. Albania exported in 1934 and 1935 bitumen in kilos 6,490,012 and 6,178,783 respectively.

135 Copper has been found near Pukë, Rehova, Kamenica and in the Mirdite district; iron in the Drin valley, near Kolonja, and in the Griba mountains; stratas of asbestos and talcum near Kruja, Deshnica, Voskopoja, Valona, Alessio and generally throughout the country; chrome near Pogradec; lead in the north; arsenic in several places; plaster and marls of cement appearing in large quantities near Valona, Alessio and many other places; lignite in numerous parts of Albania, especially in the vicinity of Tirana, Korça, etc. The asphalt and petroleum fields in some parts of Albania are the more advanced in development.

Few countries have a greater variety of mineral wealth, from precious metals down to lignite. The greater number of the deposits /35 possess all the natural conditions for exploitation.

There are lignite, asbestos, talcum and asphalt fields throughout the entire country. The greater number of these seams have not yet been touched.

Were the chrome deposits fully exploited Albania would rank among the first in world production of this ore.

Gold, silver, antimony, cinnabar, chromium, coal and petroleum have been discovered by experts in several parts of Albania.

There are also ample indications in many parts of Albania of oil and natural gas, especially in the Viosa valley.

Some experts stated authoritatively that quicksilver has been discovered.

Salt in large quantities is obtained by 317 evaporation, either from the seawater as at Durazzo, near Valona and at the mouth of the Semeni, or from the salt springs.

This great and varied mineral wealth suggests 000 untold possibilities for the economic development and cultural progress of Albania.

A most profitable future is open to the

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E&

3/2 A most profitable future is open to the many thermal and mineral springs, especially the hot sulphur springs at Llixha, near Elbasan, the springs near Përmet, Peshkopi, etc. ~~—all with diversified medical possibilities.~~

These thermal and mineral springs have been known and used with great results by the neighboring population for many years for all ailments, and only in recent years has their fame spread and great numbers of visitors from abroad began to come and appreciate the salutary effects of these springs.

3/6 The factors of importance in considering investments in Albanian mining enterprises are:

Albania is and has been for years consistently on a gold basis. That is to say, mines owe their regular and current profit-earning and divident-paying capacity to low costs of production and not to manipulated or artificial exchange premiums.

Albania is in Europe. It is geographically situated in the world's chief markets and does not have to contend with highly expensive transportation costs. It is directly linked with the great industrial centres of Europe by direct water routes.

The Kingdom of Albania is a modern well-

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DINNER AT A PEASANT'S HOME

(facing p. 226)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

MINERALS AND MINING

433 The kingdom of Albania is a modern well-
316 developed European State. It is already possessed of such social amenities as schools, hospitals, churches, aeroplanes, telegraphs, telephones, wireless, automobile roads, etc., consequently capital outlay and overhead charges are not, as in most mining countries, burdened with the provision of these services.

[464] Albania has at hand an adequate supply of qualified and skilled workers, from university graduates downwards. Apart, therefore, from foreign managers and technical specialists, there is no need for the otherwise usual expense and difficulty of staffing.

433 Albania is possessed of coalfields and is well wooded and exceptionally well watered. There is always available unlimited timber for mining and building, coal for power and water for general purposes.

Tirana, the capital of Albania, is within one day's air journey from London, a few hours' air journey from Paris and only about three hours' air trip from Rome.

[464] Albania is possessed of an abundant supply of willing unskilled and peasant labor. There is in the world to-day probably nowhere available such cheap, eager and efficient labor as is everywhere at hand in Albania.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

454 Existing laws and current legislation en-
451 courage the investment of foreign capital and technical experience. Albania imposes no embargo upon the re-export of capital or dividends, nor are there any exchange restrictions. The fact of the matter is that foreign investments are absolutely safe and not subject to confiscation. Albania's record for protecting foreigners and foreign capital is irreproachable. Taxation is moderate and equi-
651 table.

Monetary and Banking System; Budget and Public Loans

436 THE monetary unit of Albania is the gold Franc at one hundred Qindtar according to the law of July 12, 1925. The gold coin of twenty gold Francs has a weight of 6.45161 grams with an allowance of 1.29%. The issues of the Albanian National Bank are for five, twenty and one hundred gold Francs, and the coins issued for circulation are for one, one-half and one-fourth Lek, one Lek being the equivalent of one-fifth of a gold Franc—a Lek having twenty Qindtar.

453 The Albanian National Bank (Banka Kombëtare e Shqipnis) was created by law of September 2, 1925.

[436] The exclusive privilege of emitting notes was granted to the Albanian National Bank, which is a limited company, and which right is solely theirs for a duration of fifty years. The capital of the bank is 12,500,000 gold Francs of which three-tenths are actually

453 paid in. The by-laws of the bank provide that the notes issued for circulation have to be covered with thirty-three and one-third per centum; any decline of this percentage would have, eventually, to be circumvented by an increase of the rate of discount, which, at the present time is two and one-half per centum. Covering must be made in actual gold or of sight-drafts payable in gold; but in any case, one-third of it must consist of actual gold, that is: one-ninth of the total amount of notes in circulation.

[436] Notes in circulation were 13,294,840 gold Francs, which were covered by 116%, according to the bank's balance sheet of December 31, 1932; the liabilities of the bank, on the same date, which were payable on sight, amounted to 19,432,192 gold Francs. Both of these totals were balanced by 5,534,837 in gold, sight-drafts also payable in gold amounted to 26,365,270 gold Francs and by 8,041,902 [436] of other stable values. The Albanian gold Franc, at the regular rate of exchange, has for a number of years last past always been equal with the Swiss Franc. In fact, at the present time, the Albanian gold Franc stands higher

than the Swiss Franc in the regular course 453
of exchange.

The Albanian National Bank has six active branches in the various towns of Albania.

It is rapidly becoming more desirable to establish new banks in Albania, for at present there is only the Albanian National Bank and a branch of a Yugoslavian bank, and with the rapid increase of trade and general impetus to business, there are greater demands for other banking institutions which are becoming a necessity.

The national budget of Albania for the 652
financial year of 1933-34 showed the following figures.

Income	24,563,040	**gold Francs**
Expense	23,921,683	**gold Francs**

The national budget for the financial year of 1934-35 showed the following figures:

Income	18,506,500	**gold Francs**
Expense	18,888,192	**gold Francs**
Deficit	381,692	**gold Francs**

For the financial year of 1935-36 the figures of the national budget were as follows:

Income	17,237,191	**gold Francs**
Expense	18,035,563	**gold Francs**
Deficit	798,372	**gold Francs**

652 Albania's national budget for the year 1936-37 is as follows:

Income	18,584,042	gold Francs
Expense	18,879,427	gold Francs
Deficit	295,385	gold Francs

Albania has contracted two loans, namely: A loan of 50,000,000 gold Francs, redeemable
653 in forty years. This loan was made by the Society for the Economic Development of Albania (SVEA), in 1927, to be used exclusively for the purpose of developing the projects of public works, such as constructing bridges, building roads, the improvement of the port of Durazzo (Durrës) and for furthering agricultural development. As security for this loan the incomes on salt, matches, cigarette paper and playing cards were pledged.

649 The second loan of 100,000,000 gold Francs
652 was agreed upon in 1931 by the Italian Government, the whole sum of which was to be liquidated by annual installments of not over 10,000,000 gold Francs, to be used to balance the budget as long as the investments, presently in course, will have beneficially assisted in giving economic stability to the nation, so that the necessary expenses may be taken care of by Albania's own resources, and a part of

such annual installment also to be applied towards further development of public works, agriculture and for the furtherance of education. 648 652

In 1936, Italy and Albania agreed upon several new agreements, conventions and treaties, one of which covers the liquidation of the aforesaid two loans and provides for other loans to be used by the Albanian Government for the further economic development and welfare of the Kingdom of Albania.

The following eight Agreements were duly ratified by Italy and Albania and ratification documents were exchanged on May 30, 1936:

(1) A Protocole, signed January 28, 1936, as supplementary to the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of January 20, 1924;

(2) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, liquidating the loan of 100,000,000 gold Francs of June 26, 1931;

(3) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, with the aim of systemizing the financial situation of Albania;

(4) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, for a loan of 10,000,000 gold Francs for agricultural development;

(5) An Agreement, signed March 19,

648 1936, for a loan, creating a monopoly on
652 tobacco in Albania as security for such loan;

(6) A Convention, signed March 19, 1936, for the further development of the port of Durazzo (Durrës);

(7) A Convention, signed March 19, 1936, relating to veterinarian research and sanitation measures;

(8) A Provisional Agreement of Commerce, signed March 19, 1936.

Foreign Trade

DUE to the constant change of government that Albania was subjected to prior to 1925, the country had been unable to develop its natural resources and trade possibilities. However, since 1925, trade relations with foreign nations has received great impetus and has continued with even greater intensity.

In accordance with the figures of the official statistics for 1932, the total of Albanian imports amounted to 22,814,500 gold Francs and her total exports amounted to 4,500,360 gold Francs. The figures for 1933 are of necessity reduced for the imports because of the regrettable consequence of the world economic crisis, which, naturally, has affected Albania as well as other countries of the world. These figures being: Imports 15,938,221 gold Francs and 5,746,476 gold Francs for exports. For the year 1934 the figures are: Imports 12,332,708 gold Francs and exports 4,284,331 gold Francs. For 1935 the imports amounted to 13,727,138 gold Francs and exports 6,037,-

439 478 gold Francs. In the first three months of 1936 the exports amounted to 1,575,803 gold Francs and imports reached the sum of 3,574,540 gold Francs.

Albania being an essentially agricultural country, has also suffered from the world disaster in this field, and the blow to her in this connection has been a severe one, since 4/5 of her exports consist in farming products of the agricultural industries, such as: olives, olive oil, cheese, eggs, live-stock, wool, hides and skins, fruits of all kinds, vegetables, cereals, charcoal, bitumen, wood-pulp, various kinds of woods, lumber, et cetera.

One of the widest fields for imports at the present time is Albania. She has just begun in recent years to tap her own ~~source of~~ supply and is dependent to a great extent upon other countries for various products. It is expected that in the near future Albania will be enabled to develop her own great possibilities and consequently reduce her imports and increase her exports.

It is worthwhile to note that the number of nations with which Albania transacts business is constantly increasing. The principal imports of Albania are of a more constructive nature; some of which are technical and chemical products, textiles of all kinds, constructing materials, machineries and motors of all kinds, cement, hardware and cutlery, leather goods, rubber and rubber articles, paper and paper articles of all kinds, coffee, chocolate, tea, sugar, musical instruments, medicines, et cetera. Up until recent years it has also been necessary to import cereals for the years in which the crops have been unsuccessful, but these imports have now become superfluous since modernization of agricultural methods have recently caused greater strides towards progress.

The deficit in the balance of trade seems exceptionally heavy at first glance but it is naturally explained by the fact that most of the imported merchandise such as machinery, construction materials, et cetera, have been put to profit-bearing uses which are bound to increase, in due time, the productive possibilities of the country.

The following list is of the Albanian imports of a more specific nature: 3,864,327 kilos of sugar in 1935 as compared to 3,882,046 kilos in 1934. There were 6,842,330 kilos of cement bought in 1935 while 11,717,440 kilos were absorbed in 1934. Another item of great importance is benzine, of which 3,135,795 kilos were used in 1935 and 2,943,690 kilos in 1934. Petroleum in 1935 found a market of 2,198,230 kilos compared to the 2,306,911 kilos in 1934—this product is slowly being excluded by the development of the plentiful native fields. 2,693,780 kilos of naphtha was imported in 1935 as contrasted with 1,991,414 kilos in 1934. Paper and paper articles of all kinds were absorbed to the amount of 1,136,689 kilos in 1935. Large quantities of chemicals and medicine were also imported.

Smaller items on the import list are: Beer, vegetable and mineral oils, cotton goods and textures, silk and artificial silk tissues, wool textures, biscuits of all kinds, meat extracts, sausages, sardines, 24,983 kilos of cacao and chocolate.

Coffee was imported from: England 882 kilos, United States of America 34,456 kilos, Egypt 9 kilos, Brazil 508,387 kilos, Italy 25 kilos and Austria 147 kilos in 1935. There were 5,433 kilos of tea imported in 1935. Also cognac, grains, shoes, leather goods, bicycles, motorcycles, automobiles, gramophones, radios, and numerous other articles.

Albanian exports in 1935 were lower than in some of the previous years and are as follows: Various kinds of live-stock, such as horses, colts, mares, mules, donkeys, oxen, cows, sheep, lambs, ewes, goats, pigs, et cetera; poultry; game meats; 1,200 kilos of butter; 817,080 kilos of cheese; 1,222,611 kilos of eggs; 322 kilos of honey; 380,861 kilos of fish; 2,629,767 kilos of fresh and salted olives; 1,314,750 kilos of marc d'olives; 56,000 kilos of cotton seeds; large quantities of tobacco and cigarettes; 1,232 kilos of olive oil; 83,168 kilos of new hides; 607,666 kilos of dry hides; 200 kilos of colored hides; 12,782 kilos of pelts of fox, otter, etc.; 1,700 kilos of horse hair; 4,467 kilos of fertilizer; 7,898 kilos of wax; 31,333 kilos of bones, horns and hoofs, and large quantities of soap.

Among the cereals were 835,580 kilos of wheat; 865 kilos of rye; 11,941,683 kilos of maize; 53,654 kilos of barley; 50,640 kilos of oats; 1,808,224 kilos of hay; 9,527 kilos of special citrus fruits; 17,880 kilos of ordinary citrus fruits; 29,199 kilos of nuts; 1,210,510 kilos of haricots; onions; potatoes; starch, and sausage casings.

439 Other exports of interest are 1,358,706 kilos of firewood; 757,045 kilos of ebony; 319,000 kilos of malaca; 240 kilos of works of malaca; 18,285 kilos of cotton; 400,313 kilos of wool; 2,329,425 kilos of charcoal; 6,784,383 kilos of bitumen; 574 kilos of oak-wood and 4,194,764 kilos of crude petroleum.

And the articles of needlecraft, the laces and tapestries of Albania hold a very high place. In this diligent country the women spend much spare time over these exquisite additions to the feminine toilet and household decorations. These bits of art may not be widely known as yet, but where their markets have already been established there is the greatest demand for these; also the products of the silver- and goldsmiths and pottery makers, which are a symphony in precious medals and clay, have found an eager market.

The lists which follow are from the official statistical records of the principal exports and imports of Albania for the last nine years (1927-1935).

Exports and Imports

Covering the Period from 1927 to 1936

Year	Imports Gold Francs	Exports Gold Francs
1927	24,681.888	11,106,901
1928	32.311,583	14.694.203
1929	38,643.900	14,682,603
1930	33.288.900	12,352,063
1931	29,513.300	7.509,000
1932	22.814.500	4,500,360
1933	15.938.221	5,746,476
1934	12.332.708	4.284,331
1935	13.730.138	6,037,478

For the first three months of 1936 the imports amounted to 3,574,540 gold Francs and the exports reached the figure of 1,575,803 gold Francs.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS WITH SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES FOR 1935

Country	Imports Gold Francs	Exports Gold Francs
Belgium	457,219	9,551
Brazil	317,187	—
Czechoslovakia	948,431	52,039
Egypt	181,298	9,608
France	385,210	79,246
Germany	1,114,493	560
Great Britain	1,344,524	22,306
Greece	581,913	1,241,482
India	101,404	—

Italy	3,905.374	3,686,743
Japan	1,583,801	———
United States	550,346	865.391
Yugoslavia	617,154	78,349

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS WITH SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES FOR THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF 1936

Country	Imports Gold Francs	Exports Gold Francs
Austria	120.483	2,636
Belgium	198.959	———
Czechoslovakia	255.796	6.734
Egypt	45,264	3,104
France	138,363	9,348
Germany	313.574	120
Great Britain	357.563	17,148
Greece	242.962	134,193
Hungary	72,083	———
Italy	904.192	1,223.364
Japan	401.844	———
Switzerland	16.208	2,575
United States	202.009	162,025
Yugoslavia	120.311	14.556
Other countries	184.929	———
Total	3,574.540	1.575.803

Principal Albanian Exports

With Quantities For Period 1928-1935

ARTICLES	QUANTITY	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Live Animals	Pieces	110,025	114,239	60,110	22,839	11,574	4,707	48,542	25,700
Cheese	Kilos	1,498,797	1,433,009	1,435,087	730,669	738,645	523,026	412,126	817,080
Eggs	Kilos	1,191,432	1,154,522	1,475,915	1,479,927	639,219	582,013	933,235	1,159,601
Fish	Kilos	279,695	188,293	353,950	476,030	507,858	523,751	531,415	380,604
Olives	Kilos	3,262,926	2,217,261	981,042	4,372,883	3,388,655	11,284,061	1,112,571	2,629,767
Olive oil	Kilos	828,402	1,697,685	1,415,501	47,489	4,632	17,145	2,748	1,247
Tobacco and Cigarettes	Kilos	72,425	40,751	95,501	305,191	23,377	55,455	63,025	140,725
Hides and Skins	Kilos	1,047,731	865,415	763,918	435,783	372,021	849,627	668,162	691,900
Wool	Kilos	474,203	634,880	480,079	396,747	289,100	324,851	364,600	468,369
Charcoal	Kilos	9,636,308	9,812,960	5,695,989	3,585,730	2,899,450	735,222	665,197	2,329,425
Bitumen	Kilos	3,232,355	4,425,984	4,334,853	3,163,259	4,358,650	7,352,718	6,490,012	6,178,783
Timber and Woodpulp	Kilos	10,296,404	10,666,207	8,545,928	2,484,510	4,197,925	4,570,582	4,036,258	2,115,811

Principal Imports

With Quantities For Period 1928-1935

ARTICLES	QUANTITY	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Rice	Kilos	2,808,147	3.164.954	2,887,567	3.440,355	3.164,505	1.756.326	2,587.639	2,805,731
Coffee	Kilos	497,365	625.052	640,111	639,887	609,327	602,295	507,289	543,734
Sugar	Kilos	5,247,294	4,819,389	5.509,372	5,356,629	4.720,541	4,350.151	3,882,046	3,864,327
Beer	Kilos	415,080	470,153	531.333	616,189	546,292	302,254	83,091	106,730
Hides and Skins	Kilos	207,019	231.413	258,540	211,105	150,926	228.137	206,046	238,060
Textile Products	Kgr.	1,224.202	134,435	1,429,471	1,258,661	1,186,613	1,365,606	1,556,441	1,933,615
Cement	Kgr.	12,404,280	22,728,115	22,481,150	26,547,740	23,079,520	13,508,917	11,717,440	6,842,330
Industrial Machines	Kgr.	734,421	1,177,582	715,975	867,659	541,603	215,869	98,768	448,793
Agricultural Machines	Kgr.	89,184	182,286	153,478	210,140	71,551	93,797	37,409	78,342
Automobiles	Pieces	200	413	283	276	163	123	75	91
Benzine	Kgr.	2,587,796	2,925,386	3,581,471	3,290,186	3,133,266	3,880,086	2,943,690	3,135,795
Petroleum	Kgr.	4,119,202	3,338,816	2,510,918	2,321,019	2,091,780	2,393,735	2.306,911	2,198,230
Naphtha and Gasoline	Kgr.	928,030	1,289,129	1,229,038	947,780	1,961,265	2,193,369	1,991,414	2,693,780

Imports from the Principal Countries

(In Gold Francs)

1928-1935

COUNTRY	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Italy	15.623,810	17,840,100	16,707,000	13,839,500	8,918,800	6,675,655	4,203,080	3,905,374
Great Britain	2,062,426	2,694,200	2,464,600	1,770,900	1,586,200	1,438,222	1,134,154	1,344,524
Czechoslovakia	2,386,967	2,414,700	2.430,400	1,982,000	1,766,900	1,078,134	679,320	948,431
United States	2,651,053	3,919.500	2,416,500	2,803,600	2,215,700	1,012,842	705,281	550,346
Japan	———	6,700	32,000	115,500	290,000	984.431	1,442,825	1,583,801
Germany	1.388,420	1,892,700	1.801.100	1,325,300	1,113,200	973,013	640,837	1,114,493
Yugoslavia	1,828,815	3,061,400	2.554,100	2,733,300	2,063,000	967,817	826,636	617,154
Greece	1,878,495	1,598,500	1,186,200	1,076,200	644,900	823,150	633,882	581,913
France	660,407	788,200	947,500	672,000	436,800	509,910	362,264	385,210
Austria	926,997	1,079,300	1,120,400	951,400	667,300	434,298	429,468	522,093
Belgium	422,221	796,600	695,800	600,100	374,700	380,655	409,596	457,219
Hungary	88,745	167,100	310.300	430,400	255.000	249,750	392,169	318,236
Holland	42.872	31,460	63,000	40,500	48,100	67,775	61,184	71,415
Egypt	1,125,775	2,015,400	111,000	110,000	35,300	60,382	85,755	181,298
Switzerland	96.809	30.800	152,000	116,100	77,800	57,750	45,955	95,333
Sweden	62.725	52.090	16,000	11,500	10,400	32,929	27,827	19,117
Turkey	68,486	47,590	82,000	131,400	53,300	19,242	11,863	9,861
Rumania	743,059	67,390	27.000	117,300	1,030,800	2,946	3,236	564,153
Bulgaria	60,339	12,200	12,000	224,600	862,200	2,035	4,123	3,525
Other Countries	193,162	127,970	160,000	461,700	364,200	167,285	233,251	456,642
Total	32,311,583	38,643,900	33,288,900	29,513,300	22,814,500	15,938,221	12,332,708	13,730,138

Foreign Representation

648 THE Kingdom of Albania has concluded treaties of amity, arbitration, commerce, extradition, navigation and consular conventions with numerous foreign countries.

Albania is a member of the League of Nations since December 17, 1920, and also a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

Albania is one of the signatories to the Universal Postal Union Convention, signed at Cairo, March 20, 1934.

Albania, on May 6, 1935, acceded to the International Telecommunication Convention and the Radiocommunication Regulations Annexed thereto of Madrid, of December 9, 1932.

It is the earnest wish of King Zog I and the Albanian Government, according to a statement made personally by the king to the author, to continue in amity and peace with all nations alike.

Albania maintains diplomatic and consular relations with practically all foreign nations, 648 having legations in Ankara, Athens, Belgrade, Cairo, London, Paris, Rome, Sofia, Washington, and in other capitals, and consulates-general or consulates in various cities of Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Dominion of Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States of America, Yugoslavia, and so forth. Albania has also appointed permanent press representatives—Chiefs of Press Service of the Albanian Government and or Press Attachés to Austria, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Dominion of Canada, France, Great Britain, Haiti, India, Irish Free State, Mexico, United States of America and in other countries.

A permanent delegate to the League of Nations resides in Geneva, Switzerland.

Austria, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Iran (Persia), Italy, Latvia, Rumania, Russia, Turkey, the United States of America, Yugoslavia and other countries have legations in Albania, while numerous other nations maintain consulates-general or consulates in Tirana and other cities of Albania.

Hotels and Restaurants

485

THERE are innumerable large and small but most comfortable hotels throughout Albania.

While one must not expect to find in Albania the same kind of large modern hotels as in London, New York, Paris and Vienna, the traveller will find clean and comfortable hotels, with running hot and cold water, like the Continental Hotel and Hotel International in Tirana, which two are classified in the first class category, and the Hotel London, Adriatik Hotel and the Hotel Metropol, also in Tirana, which are classified in the category of second class, but, of course, there are several other hotels. In Scutari (Shkodra) the tourist will find the Grand Hotel, Hotel International and the Park Hotel very comfortable, but the Park Hotel has no restaurant, while the others have first class restaurants. Garages serve the majority of the hotels throughout Albania. In Durazzo (Durrës) the main hotels are the Isola Bella, Miramare and the Palace. The two largest first class

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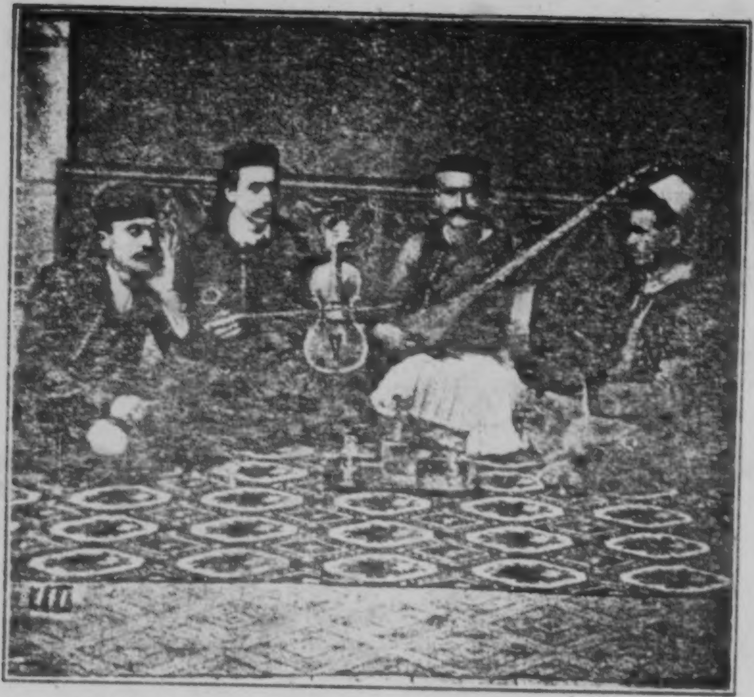

OLD-FASHIONED GROUP OF ALBANIAN MUSICIANS

(facing p 248)

985 hotels in Elbasan are the Grand Hotel and Adriatik Hotel. From Elbasan to Llixha is fourteen kilometers where there is a special hotel in connection with the thermal baths. The Hotel Colombo is the largest in Berat. The most convenient hotels of Valona (Vlona) are the Adriatik and the Gambino. The Palace Hotel of Korça is very nice and the restaurant in connection will satisfy the pallet of the most fastidious. In Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra) the largest hotels are the Savoja and the Royal. At Santa Quaranta (Saranda) the Piro Palas is the best. This latter city is the most convenient stop to visit Butrinto, Delvina and Himara for these three towns are all within a very short distance.

265 There are countless large and small restaurants throughout the country—spotlessly clean—serving the most delicious, tasty food —American, European or Oriental.

Time and Costs

000 STUDY any map and you will see that almost anybody can get away long enough for an Albanian vacation. It is nearer than ever before!

By air from anywhere in Europe, Albania is as close as to-morrow—a few hours.

For those whose time for vacation is limited and must come from the Americas by steamship and train, even a four-week vacation gives one plenty of time for Albania—time that will never be wasted and always will afford glowing memories.

The trip by steamer from any port of the Americas direct to an Italian port, and from the Italian ports to the Albanian ports is fascinating, full of entertainment and beauty.

Whatever transportation method one prefers, just visit or write to any steamship or travel bureau and they will have sent to you, free, a detailed routing from your home city to Albania.

As a prospective visitor to Albania one naturally wants some idea of what the cost is

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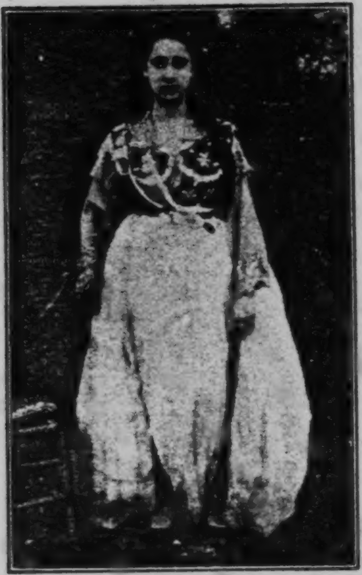

AN ALBANIAN GYPSY DANCER

(facing p. 250)

000 likely to be. Obviously the answer depends on the individual's personal tastes in accommodations and how he or she spends the time.

485 In Albania the visitor may spend as much or as little as he may like. There are accommodations of every type, metropolitan, residential, suburban—whatever taste and purse dictate. However, because Albania is a year 'round playground one escapes the "peak" prices necessary in resorts having only brief "seasons" each year.

Ordinary expenses in Albania will never exceed those at home.

Furthermore, surveys indicate that costs in Albania are about forty per cent under the average for Europe as a whole.

000 Conditions in Albania are such that summer and winter hold much more attraction to the visitor than do the periodical summer or winter weeks elsewhere.

To spend a few days, weeks or months in Albania is to be furnished with refreshing and delightful memories for years to come!

Passport and Visa Regulations

486 FOREIGNERS who desire to enter Albania are required to be in possession of a valid passport, issued by the proper authorities of the country of which they are citizens or subjects, and an Albanian visa, issued by an Albanian diplomatic or consular official.

Albanian visa is granted by the Albanian diplomatic or consular representatives, without delay, to the following:

(a) Persons going to Albania on official missions;

(b) Persons going to Albania for scientific, educational or humanitarian purposes;

(c) Tourists and travellers.

Austrian, Italian, Liechtenstein and Swiss nationals must be in possession of a valid passport but require no Albanian visa.

American citizens require the Albanian visa on their passports for travel to Albania. Such visa will be granted by any diplomatic or consular representative of Albania without any fee. American naturalized citizens of

Albanian birth or origin, who intend taking up permanent residence in Albania, are required to comply with certain regulations prior to the obtaining of the visa. 486

Tourists and visitors going to Albania in groups of over five persons can receive specially one visa for all, paying the fee of only one visa for the whole group.

Persons intending to become temporary or permanent residents in Albania will find that there are no difficulties or restrictions whatsoever for prospective residents. 167

For further information about passports and visas apply to any Albanian diplomatic or consular representative. 000

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Page 8 line 18 read: Presba instead of: Prespa
Page 10 line 8 read: was instead of: were
Page 11 line 18 read: Maximinus instead of: Maximian
Page 15 line 25 read: Shqipëtar instead of: Shqipetar
Page 16 line 1 read: Shqipëtar instead of: Shqipetar
Page 16 line 8 read: Shqipëtars instead of: Shqipetars
Page 22 line 17 read: Skënderbeg instead of: Skenderbeg
Page 27 line 10 read: mediaeval instead of: medieval
Page 28 ~~line 7 read: Shqipëtars~~ instead of: Shqipëtars
Page 30 line 7 read: Tepelene instead of: Tepeleni
Page 32 line 5 read: Frashëri instead of: Frasheri
Page 33 line 13 read: Shqipëtars instead of: Shqipetars
Page 34 line 8 read: Shqipëtars instead of: Shqipetars
Page 37 line 3 read: Shqipëtars instead of: Shqipetars
Page 38 line 19 read: was instead of: were (meaning second "were")
Page 66 line 6 read: Shevqet instead of: Shefqet
Page 76 line 21 read: 58 instead of: 56
Page 106 line 9 read: Shqipëtars instead of: Shqipetars
Page 114 line 4 read: phenomenon instead of: phenomena
Page 119 line 19 read: Shevqet instead of: Shevket
Page 152 line 3 read: to $1,500.00 and *one can* live as comfortably as in a
Page 161 line 3 read: Korça *was until recently* the residence of the head of
Page 172 line 23 read: Santi Quaranta instead of: Santa Quaranta
Page 173 line 23 read: Voskopoja instead of: Voskopoj
Page 182 line 19 read: Dora d' Istria instead of: Dora d' Istra
Page 187 line 8-9 read: Frashëri instead of: Frasheri
Page 188 line 3 read: Argyrocastro instead of: Argyrokastro
Page 196 line 11 read: have instead of: has
Page 215 line 21 read: Tepelene instead of: Tepelena
Page 215 line 21 read: ...san, Kavaja, Tepelene, *Scutari* and Tirana where an
Page 215 line 26 read: from instead of: for
Page 221 line 4 read: Presba instead of: Prespa
Page 249 line 10 read: Argyrocastro instead of Argyrokastro
Page 249 line 12 read: Santi Quaranta instead of: Santa Quaranta

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3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

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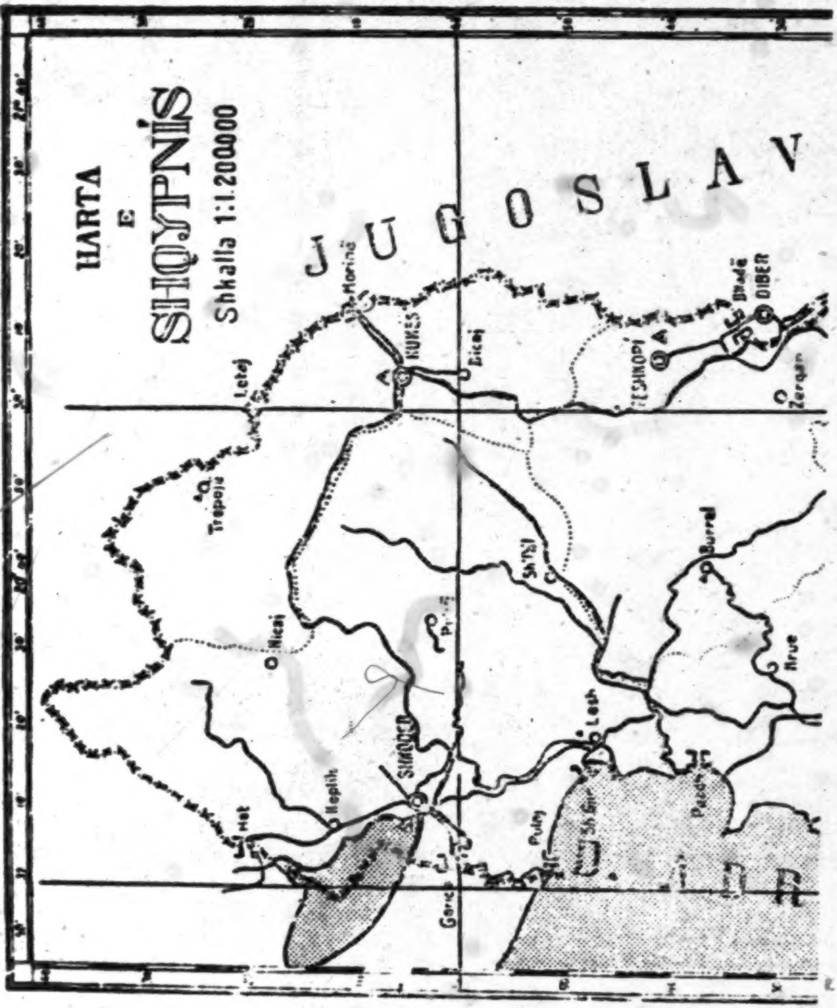
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Zerqan
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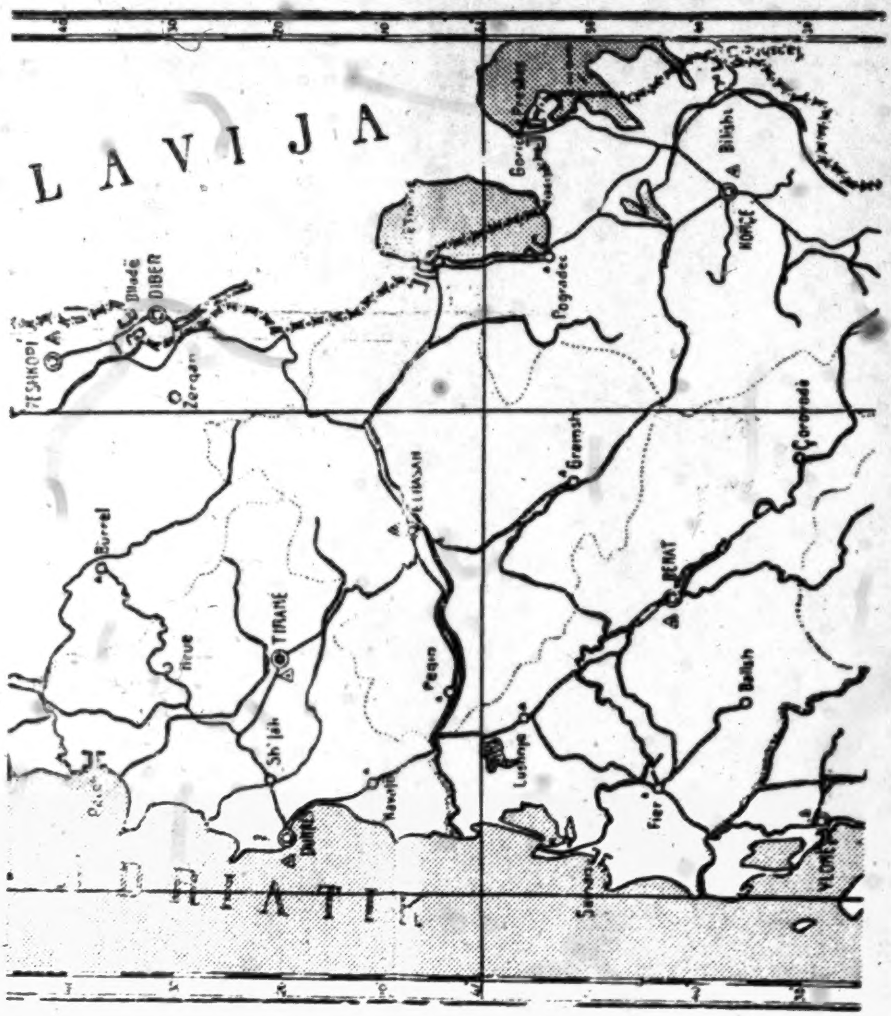
MAP OF

End map (a)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1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DURRES
Kavaja
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ELBASAN
Pogradec
Gorica
Presba
KORÇE
Bilisht
Gramsh
Çorovodë
BERAT
Lushnja
Fier
Ballsh
Seman
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MAP OF THE KINGIOM OF ALBANIA

End map (B)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

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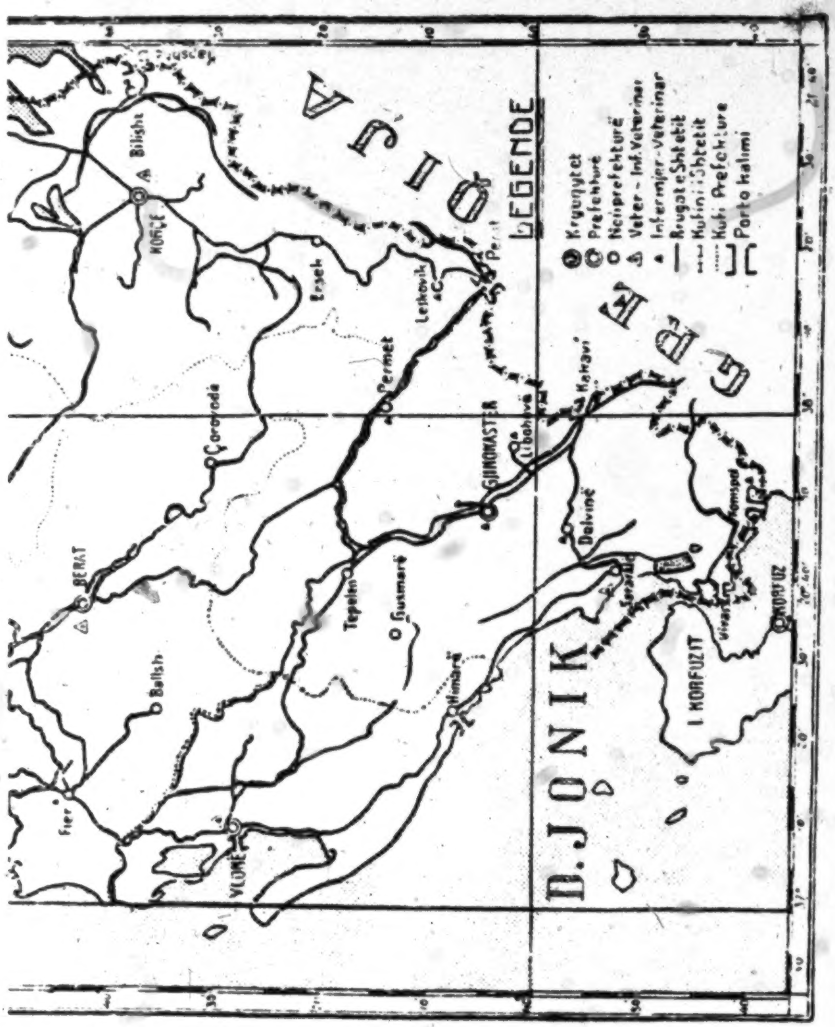
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Tepelen
Permet
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Perat
Himarë
GJINOKASTER
Libohovë
Dalvinë
Kakavi
Sarandë
I. KORFUZIT
Konispol
KORFUZ
D. JONIK
GREQIJA
LEGENDE
Kryeqytet
Prefekturë
Nenprefekturë
Veter - Inf. Veterinar
Infermjer-Veterinar
Rrugat e Shtetit
Kufini i Shtetit
Kufi Prefekture
Porto kalimi

NIA

End map(c)

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[For history of Albania from the time of Illyria to the abortive revolution of 1924, see category 116, pp. 8-11, 14-15, 17-27, 29-67.]

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[For biographical information on King Zog I see category 116, pp. 97-102.]